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REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ȘI FOLCLOR

JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

SERIE NOUĂ / NEW SERIES

1–2/2019

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor

Journal of Ethnography and Folklore

Serie nouă / New Series

1–2/2019

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Romanian Academy, Section of Arts, Architecture, and Audio-Visual

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Lucrare apărută cu sprijin financiar din Fondul Recurent al Donatorilor – Academia Română

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JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

New Series 1-2 2019

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J001316590

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FROM MYTH TO MYTHOLOGIES: ORPHEUS AT RODOLIVOS OF SERRES TODAY (SCHOLARSHIP, LOCAL IDENTITY, SPECIAL PRACTICES OF CULTURAL TOURISM)

MANOLIS G. SERGIS

ABSTRACT

The myth of Orpheus (along with those of Apollo and Dionysus who are often used interchangeably) is still alive nowadays at the village of Rodolivos in the area of Serres in Northern Greece. More specifically, this myth can be traced in a) the name of the village (in which the local scholars include one of the ancient musician's symbols, the rose), b) the naming of associations, local newspapers, cultural events (e.g. *Orphic Echoes*), etc, c) place names, etc. Modern Folklore's interest is focused on *how* the determination of identity is organized. In this vein, the various practices (initiated 100 years ago) that the scholars of the village use in order to relocate the dawning of the village to the place and time of the myth are analysed in this study. One of the aims of this relocation has to do with tourism. Every touristic destination has to provide sound evidence of its long history and pre-history, «authenticity», exceptional natural landscape, and an indigenous culture adapted to the «eye» of the foreign or greek visitor. At the end of the study, some thoughts are provided on the «special practices» of the cultural tourism. The concept of myth is herein used with its classical anthropological loadings but also those of the modern *mythologies* by R. Barthes.
Keywords: scholars, Orpheus, myth, mythologies, invented traditions, local identity, cultural industries, tourism, specific cultural industry practices, Cultural Capital.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The basic concepts and word-symbols that are used in this study and interpret its exemplary elements are the following in brief:

A. Scholarship: the study focuses on *how the local scholars reproduce, reinforce* or *shift the collective memory of their birth place* (in this case)[1].

[1] For the often used here concepts a) «identity» and its complements («cultural», «local», etc.), b) «We - Others», c) «locality», see *inter alia* Sergis 2005; Sergis 2010; Gefou-Maduanou 2003 where there is a wide range of relevant literature.

Scholarship is represented in our example by G. Avtzis and G. Vogiatzis. local scholars of the village Rodolivos, which is the seat of the Municipality of Amphipolis, inhabited by 2.072 people (census 2011) and located southeast of the city of Serres in Northern Greece, at the foot of the mountain Paggaion (see map).

The study of the past has shown that each small or large community of people that is created needs strong and ancient in time references, which enhance its presence (real or imaginary) in place and time. The former (place) is its materialistic dimension while the latter (time) offers the necessary ingredients that shape the feeling of locality, the local identity, the historical consciousness to those who inhabit each specific place. The scholars search their arguments in it in order to compose or fabricate/invent history (and prehistory) for their homeplace. Their *aim* is usually the discovery of the ancient origins, of the very first beginning, of their ancient historical roots, of the «childhood» of their civilisation, to create

history, to discover and legitimise prehistory. The link to the ages of myth is usually taken as a requirement for the enforcement of their self-consciousness.

I refer to the hundreds of greek local scholars of the villages and the cities, ever since the late 19th century, who dealt with Folklore (*Laographia*, in greek) at its pre-scientific phase and, in their studies, tried to (influenced by the romantic zeal of the era) originate almost all the folklore phenomena of their age to an ancient national past and classic antiquity in particular (Meraklis 1999: 11 onwards). Most of them were dedicated (explicitly or implicitly) to the schema of the so-called «proof-argument» of the historical *continuity* of the greek nation; they had undertaken, in other words, the task of covering the likely *disconinuities* in time to enhance the existence of a united time of their local history.

The scholars of my example belong to the modern ones; they constitute the last rings of the long chain of such scholars. I could characterise them as a *non-constitutional factor* of definition of the local identity with a self-defined role and acquired identity. They impose themselves to the public hegemonically based on the power attributed to them because of their education; the most important factor of social mobility among the members of the greek «traditional» community. Through their power, their cultural *hegemony* (Gramsci 1972), they attempt to form the collective identity.

B. Orpheus, Apollo, Dionysos: These figures are mingled in this study as in others. Dionysos Thrax concentrated in himself a wide range of characteristics maybe more than any other eminent divine figures. In some traditions, Kalliope and Apollo were the parents of Orpheus (photo 1). The latter taught him music and offered him the lyre. On the summit of the mountain Paggaion (at Serres area of Northern Greece) an ancient temple of Sun is witnessed next to that of Dionysus the Thrax, who was considered the personification of Sun according to an ancient writer (Dionysus-Sun, see Avtzis 1969: 17-18). The Dionysian Mysteries (as they were formed by Orheus) had such important differences from the ecstatic dionysian worship that the Orheans defined themselves as followers of a different religion. At the heart of the orphic preaching the so-called Dionysos Zagreas was placed along with Nepios-Dionysos (= infant Dionysus) «which probably resound the ritual of a Dionysian worship» (Kakouri 1963), Savazios-Dionysos, etc.

Photo 1

C. The rose (= **ródon** in greek): three are the most prominent symbols of Orphism: the *ear of wheat*, symbol of fertility, appropriated by the worship of goddess Demetra, the *vine* (symbol of fertility as well but deriving from the orgiastic worship of Dionysus) and the *rose* (solar symbol of the god Sun, whom – to the ancient writers – Orpheus worshipped after his return from Hades, which was the reason that caused

his tearing in pieces by Vassares ordered by Dionysos. The rose symbolised the holy speech, the spirit, the harmony. It was the symbol of Apollo-Sun. Christianism turned it into a symbol of Virgin Mary. It is the «unwithering Rose» that exhales the sweet smell of purity as a replacement of the corresponding fragrance of sexuality breathed out by the goddess Aphrodite (Venus).

D. Myth: It is here used in its classic sense as it has been used by eg. the great thinkers Eliade, Vernant, Lévy-Strauss but also in its modern one attributed to it by R. Barthes (1979), who referred to the myths that feed the individuals' *everyday* life. To him, the myth is an *a-politically oriented discourse* stolen by the persons, since the myth stole their language and their semiotic oddity and returned it to them in a new form full of meaning. It is a discourse that transforms history into nature (Barthes 1979: 222, 227) that is to say it presents every social and historical product as natural and necessary. Therefore, the political speech/discourse and the myth have a dialectic relationship of usage; it silences sides of truth, transforms or underscores some others, simplifies the complicated socio-political reality since it turns each difficult to understand fact into an easy to understand and digestable one. The myth does not deny things, its role being to talk about things; it simply purifies and acquits them and founds them in nature and eternity. To R. Giradet, it is a screen that comes in between the truth of things and the commands of knowledge (1986: 13).

The myth plays a contradictory role; it helps us to understand but it also imposes it to us, it serves the interests of those who handle it, it is related to political parameters, it organises society and is exceptionnaly functional. «The relationship between the people and the myth is not one of truth but one of usage; the people depolitisize dpending on their needs» (Barthes 1979: 276). The most effective means, however, to fight against the myth is «... to turn it into a myth once more, to create an artificial myth» (Barthes 1979: 235); to from another mythology, *to found the myth* of the myth, *the myth making of the myth*.

MYTH AND NAME. THE DIACHRONIC PRESENCE OF ORHEUS AT THE RODOLIVOS VILLAGE VIA THE NAME. THE «ARSENAL» OF THE SCHOLARS

I start with this section for an obvious reason: the «burden of the name» that a village carries whose (to the *prevalent in this same village as absolutely true etymology*) one of its components is the *rose*, the symbol of Orpheus. Therefore, in (the village of) Rodon (= rose in greek) -livos Orpheus is *always present* because of the taken to exist correlation of its name to its symbol.

I elongate my discussion about its name because it presents some laographic interest. I judge (on the basis of field study[2]) that the *invented tradition* (Hobsbawm, Ranger 2004) about the etymology of the name of Rodolivos is old. The scholar

[2] Conducted by my student Sab. Georgiadou in 2016.

G. Avtzis simply reproduces it in the 1960s. It was then that he published a letter in a newspaper of Thessaloniki in which he exposed his personal version for the etymology of the name of its home place.

To it (which is reproduced by all the henceforth scholars) the name of Rodolivus comes from the noun *rose* (= ródon) and the verb λείβω (root λειβ = pour, pour out, make libations[3]. From its weak root λιβ- the words λιβάς, λιβάδιον/λιβάδι (= meadow) etc. are produced. In this vein, Rodoleivos is the place that pours out roses, a meadow of roses. The Professor of Linguistics at the University of Thessaloniki Nikolaos Andriotis replied to the local scholar with a letter to the same newspaper that «... the placename Rodoleivos is not a greek word but a slavic one and, in particular, a serbian one» (Avtzis 1969: 3, 8 onwards) and comes from the Slavic adjective *rodljiv*, which means fertile, fruitful, rich, characteristics that the village under discussion bears until nowadays.

The reaction of the local scholar and his co-villagers was the expected one. To R. Girardet, the myths appear in periods of transition or crisis when – to the same author – *clinical signs* of huge collective fears are noticed (1986: 53). Greece has lived with these *fears*[4] since the third decade of the 19th century (1930 and onwards) with the debut of the Falmerayer theory that terrifies some greeks even today. The followers of *demotiki glossa* (= the everyday modern greek language as opposed to *katharevousa* which was a scholarly ancient-greek like language), for instance, at the end of the 19th century and later on were characterised as atheists, traitors and Slavs due to the origin of queen Olga, who had allowed the translation of the Holy gospel into the *demotiki* which caused bloody conflicts in Athens (see *Evaggelika* and *Orestiaka*[5]). I most specifically, nonetheless, refer to the phobias developed because of the loaded climate in the greek bulgarian relationships after the dramatic events of the painful periods 1914-1918, 1941-1944 (Sergis 2016a) and the civil war that contributed to rendering the bulgarians into the absolute *Others* in the greek folk consciousness: «... I considered it my duty not to let my co-patriots live in the error that our homeland has a slavic name», when this is suggested by the scientific pen (Avtzis 1969: 3). For a modern mythology to prevail, apart from its content and message, the way it is phrased and spread are highly important in order to impose itself on its receivers, to order them to appropriate it (Girardet 1986: 221). The scholars' way of «action» is ever since the

[3] See Lidell-Scott-Jones (*Great Dictionary of the Greek Language.* Translated by X. Moschos, Athens: I. Sideris), entry *λείβω*, p. 23.

[4] For relevant bibliography, see Sergis 2016a.

[5] This is how the bloody events that took place in Athens in November 1901 and 1903 were termed. These events were caused by the publication in the newspaper *Acropolis* of the gospels translated in the *Demotiki language by Alexandros Pallis (Evaggelika*, gospel = evaggelio in greek) and the translation of the Aeschylian ancient greek tragedy *Oresteia* from the ancient greek in the *Katharevousa language by Georgios Sotiriadis (Orestiaka).* The university students demonstrated against the performance of the play. These declarations ended to bloody conflicts with one (or two to other sources) dead and many injured people (see *inter alia* Scholi Moraiti (ed) 2005).

old times a proof of a different to the above mentioned «continuity»; the use of methods and practices from the arsenal of other ages. I need to remind here that Avtzis' article was written in 1969 when junta was in power. During that period the fears for the northern neighbours, who were communists, were systematically cultivated and raising). The scholars of Rodolivos appeal to:

a) the historical testimonies for the relation between the mountain Paggaion and roses that the ancient writers Theophrastos and Plinios preserved. To the former, many and well-known roses grew on the mountai Paggaion. The one-hundred-leaves rose was cultivated around the town Philippoi, whose inhabitants got them from Paggaion where there was an abundance of them (Theophrastos, *Peri phyton Istorias/History About Plants* VI, 6, 4). This information is confirmed by Plinios (*Natural History*, book XXI, ch. 4-10, 17). The Paggaion mountain was the god Bacchus' sacred one.

b) the International legitimisation of their views: the fact that the aforementioned historical testimonies are analysed and interpreted by scientists, archeologists, numismatists, historians of a universal prestige. The foreigners (to the scholars) are eminent scientists, competent and infallible students of the ancient world. It reminds me of Herzfeld's (2002) «greek-like, extrovert trend» adopted by scholarly folklorists, who resorted to the european area and the philhellene scholars from whom they expected the necessary evidence of the *continuity* supported by many English and German folklorists and ethnographers. In this vein, the aforementioned scholar Avtzis maintains that it is absurd «the wise foreign writers to declare the etymology of the word quite convincigly on the basis of historical evidence» and not at all flattering for the greek scientists (see Andriotis) to strive to prove that it is of a slavic origin (1969: 9).

Special reference is made to Paul Collart, a member of the French Archeological School of Athens, is made who, in his work *Phillipoi...* (1937: 481) writes inter alia: «... In the area of Philippoi, people used to cultivate a species of one-hundred - leaves rose, well- known, which, as they said, came from mountain Paggaion and their memory was kept until today in the name "Rodoleivos"...». Reference was also made to the hellenistes Heuzey and Daumet (1876: 157, archeologist and architect respectively), the former in particular, who combines the abundance of roses of Philippoi and Paggaion with the celebration of *rodismi* (= of roses)[6].

Besides the discipline of *Archeology* turned into the national science for Greece since the mid 19th century and constituted (along with History, Law, early Laography) the intellectual arsenal of all nationalists in the Balkans of that period to remain within the borders of this interesting area. It served the objectives of the

[6] It is a common theme in Folklore/Laographia that *Rosalia* was at first a celebration of flowers and spring, which was performed during the roman era and gradually evolved to a celebration of the dead, the cemetery where they scattered the tombs with roses. At Thrace more specifically, Pouchner notes (1994: 18) the celebration of the roses is enlisted in the most popular worship of Dionysus.

national or the imaginary states, such as the social and historical amalgamation in space and time, and claims for the still occupied territories (called Great Idea). Archeology one century later still serves the aims of our scholars in the aforementioned case. It is not therefore accidental that they resort to the archeologist Ernest Bebelon's work (1901: 1048) for the ancient greek and roman coins. The ancient *numismatics,* which investigates ancient coins, requires perfect knowledge of mythology, since the identification of a coin is unbreakably linked to the depiction it carries. The Hellenist scientist had ordered some roses from the village to be sent to him so as to compare them to the ones imprinted on the coins of the area and their description by Theophrastos and was convinced that they undoubtedly depict the flowers of Paggaion, the renowned roses in the antiquity (Avtzis 1969: 13-14; Vogiatzis, Simoglou 2008: 309).

c) the fact that the *Council of place names*[7] that worked on the replacement of the toponyms of foreign origin in the area of Serres «... did not deal with this toponym and did not consider it replaceable taken to be of greek origin» (Avtzis 1969: 7-8). However, its orthography changed in the replacement of toponyms which took place in 1940 from Rodol-ei-vos into Rodol-i-vos.

The two aforementioned scholars of the village are eagerly seeking the *constitutional myth of the community, to reconstruct a prehistoric homeplace.* This will happen if this unbreakable unity of the village is proven. If, in other words, the mythological Leivethra (= Λείβηθρα) (see below) is evidenced to be the current village Rodolivos. I antiquity, the cities that claim to be the *birthplace of Orpheus are numerous*. Two of them, whose the case I analyse here, is Rodolivos at Serres and Leivethra (= Λείβηθρα) at Pieria, the nowadays archeological site between Skotina and Leptokarya (near the foot of the well known from the greek mythology Mount Olympus). Each one of the two areas views the mythologocal issues quite differently. Let us start with Λείβηθρα (= Leivethra) of Pieria that nowadays belongs to the municipality of Dion of Olympus. The juxtaposition of the arguments of this municipality to those of the Rodolivos' inhabitants are indeed very interesting.

The grave of Orpheus at Leivethra is mentioned by the ancient historians Apollodoros (1, 15) and Diogenes Laertios (1, 5). The latter, in particular, cites a two-verse sepulchral elegy where it is written that the legendary lyre player was killed «... by a Zeus' thunder and was burried there by the Muses»[8]. The *General Touristic Guide of Pieria* exploits (for obvious reasons) the above: Leivithra is the homeplace of the mythic Orpheus[9] «... built between Old Leptokarya and Skotina (...). Successive streams run the area which meet in the common bed of the stream Zeliana»[10]. Let us keep the name of this stream in mind.

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[7] For these councils and their composition, in specific, see Sergis 2016: 54-56.
[8] See Guthrie 1993: 34.
[9] Ibid: 62.
[10] http://pieria-tourism.gr/livithra.html.

The problems and the claim of the hero arise from a historical fact that provides «irresistible» arguments for both sides; the *borders of the prehistoric Thrace are unclear.* To Kourtides it extended in the north beyond the river Danube and North Thessaly (that is Perraivia) Olympus and Southern Macedonia (then known as Pieria)[11] were all part of it.

The Rodolivian G. Vogiatzis, in his turn, appeals to:

a) historical documents and secondary sources. To prove that Pieria and Leivethra referred to in the aforementioned *Orphika* are «theirs» and not the nowadays inhabitants of Pieria, he highlights Thucydides' testimony (book B, 99) who mentions that the inhabitants of Pieria were expelled by the Macedonians and settled beyond the river Strymonas at the city Phágreta (Φάγρητα) and in other sites at the foot of Paggaion (see Kakrides 1986: 297)[12]. This assertion is repeated by the historian Hammond (1995) as follows: «the escape of the defeated inhabitants of Pieria towards the area of Paggaion is an inexplicable mystery. They might have left through the sea and joined some other kin tribe near the mountain Paggaion». The local scholar Evaggelos Strátis talks about a New Pieria (1924).

b) Its etymology. The ancient *Leivethron* (Vogiatzis claims) was later named *Leivethron Rose.* I believe he was influenced by Ioannis Svoronos' phrase that the village is «really a meadow of roses, a Leivethron of roses» (Svoronos 1919: 127)[13]. Therefore, we have here the sequence: *Leivethron* (Leivethra) › *Leivethron of Roses* › *Rodoleivos*. To Vogiatzis, his etymological suggestion is supported by the *literary* references (I underscore, poetic not historic ones) of the *Argonautika* (by Apollonius of Rhodes) and Eurypides' tragedy *Ρήσος/Reshus* (Vogiatzis 1991: 6, 8, 15).

c) With the etymology of some *microtoponyms* of Rodolivos put forward by him[14]; he associates his village with Apostle Paul's travellings and the roses succeeding thus to prove, to my view, its historical continuity during the early christian period of its existence. It is said, as he mentions, that Apostle Paul passed from the village, preached the christian faith on a cliff and the inhabitants scattered rose-leaves on him. He is also reported to have said «… this is really a meadow of roses». This cliff is called today *Toupólos.* The scholar interprets this micro-toponym as follows: from *Paulo* › *of* (= tou in greek) *Polo* › *Toupolou*, that is *Paul's hill*!!! (Vogiatzis 1991: 23). In a similar etymological vein, he attempts to interpret the microtoponym *Mati* (= eye in greek, the highest peak of Paggaion) and

[11] More analytically: «Thrace (...) expanded (...) during the ancient period of the greek history, the pre-Homeric and the Homeric ones in particular, from Peneios river until the Black Sea and Istros (of Danube) and far beyond it. Therefore, Thrace included Northern Thessaly, that is Perraivia, Olympus, and Southern Macedonia, which was then known as Pieria (...). In this sense, the southern borders of the ancient Thrace were Peneios river, The Aegean Sea, Hellespont and Propontis» (Kourtidis 1932).

[12] To Avtzis (ibid: 25) the village was founded «not later than the 5th century BC».

[13] See Yiokas 2006.

[14] See Sergis 2016 for their ideological loading and their function.

correlate it with Orpheus in a very direct way. In *Orphika,* in their section *Orpheus about stones* (verses 311-337), in particular, it is mentioned that when the mythic hero was on top of Paggaion, he was attached by a dragon, but was rescued by his dogs. In the text we read «the big *eye* of the snake agitates your heart». This is an ascertainment addressed to the musician by one of his escorts. The *eye of the snake* of the text interprets (to the scholar) the toponym[15]! The eye (= mati in greek) of the dragon of the *Orphika* is the microtoponym *Mati.*

On the hill of Saint Athanassios (at Rodolivos) the existence of a small city of the Thracian-macedonian period is testified, while at the site of *Kouriá* another ancient one was located (Samsaris 1976: 186-187). The archeologist N. Zekos from Rodolivos mentions the ruins of five settlemest in total. The peak of Saint Athanasios hill is called *Prouf'tsa* by the locals. To Vogiatzis the name originates from profetissa (= she-prophet). Vogiatzis interprets the toponym correlating it to Herodotus' information that on top of Paggaion there was a Dionysus' oracle (*History* 7, 111, 108-112) at which the oracles were delivered by a corresponding to the Delphes well-known Pythia. The hill then was named after this female prophet to this scholar.

d) with his own interpretation of the myth of the catastrophe of Leivethra. According to the mythological version of Pieria (Olympus of Pieria), the city of Leivethra was devastated when the stream Συς (Sys) overfew and destroyed the wall, the temples and the houses of the city. Dionysos had warned the inhabitants with an oracle which said that their city would be destroyed by the Συς (= sow) at the moment when the sun would see the dead body of Orpheus being burried in their city. They did not pay attention to this warning, however, and when the headstone was turned over by some reckless shepherds, who were having fun, and the body was disclosed, the stream Συς (Sys) flooded and destroyed their city (Avtzis 1969: 18). The inhabitants of modern Pieria maintain that the stream that flooded their ancient city is the so-called nowadays *Zeliana* one.

The *corresponding* Zeliana of Rodolivos needs to be invented so as to support the other elements of the myth and counterargue those of the «opponents». Vogiatzis (1991: 29 onwards) mentions that today there are two streams at the village and believes that if one of them (the biggest) is the Συς/*Sow* then the smaller ones – that flow into it – are the little *sows.* The second stream passes in front of the cliff of *Prouft'sa* at the site *Gourniki,* whose etymology is from *gourna,* which, in turn, comes from *groni* that means sow and thus *this is the Sys of the myth.* He also mentions that the inhabitants have always looked for a coin (of great value) on which a sow with her little pigs was depicted. This has to do with the widely known greek folk tradition for the golden boar with her seven or twelve offsprings (see Sergis 2016: 397). This tradition, to Avtzis, (ibid) was launched from the area of Paggaion! Vogiatzis, based on a coin («of a sow») found on their «sacred mountain» (again *Archeology* and *Numismatics* in the demonstrative

[15] Vogiatzis, Simoglou 2008: 235; Vogiatzis 1991: 9.

procedure) maintains that the aforementioned myth of his village is preserved through it.

e) with the pleading of mythical traditions and Literature. To them, the inhabitants of the village threw roses to the Persian king Xerxes (ibid: 18) when he marched against Greece, which the scholar relates to Midas (ibid: 16) since the poet Nikandros presents the well-known king carrying roses from Odonia of Paeonia. In any case, the current field work has not recorded any «monuments of folk speech» (songs, traditions, narrations) correlated to Orpheus.

Vogiatzis takes advantage of the mentioned by the writer Georgios Vizyenos (1849-1896) information that at some site of Paggaion a rock stands out and is called by the locals «Babo's yialoumi». The imaginative writer and poet correlates this to the God's nurse, whom the Orpheans called *Βαυώ/Vavó* (see Devereux 2006; Sergis 2005). Vavo was naturalised as the Iacchus', son of Dionysos, nurse by the Orpheans (in Vogiatzis, Simoglou 2008: 81). He also exploits Aggelos Sikelianos' (the greek-centered poet) thoughts worded in the tragedy *Dithyramb of the Rose*[16]: «As tradition certifies with indisputable evidence the first orphic altar was built by Orpheus himself facing the sun and the Rose, *on top of Paggaion,* along with another *archeological finding* that the first coins of the wild leaves were cut having the shape of the one-hundred-leaves rose that grows until this very time on Paggaion... See some relevant Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek names: Rodopoleis (towns of the roses), Rodovillages, Rodomeadows, etc.».

THE MYTH AND THE SPECIAL PRACTICES OF CULTURAL TOURISM

The intentions of the *myth* have turned into common beliefs for the nature and the matter of things. In addition to this, in our case, I descern its potential, as underscored by Barthes (1979: 230, 231) to go in the meaning and inflate through it. The main organisations that manage the culture in the village nowadays (as tradition managers) are the following three: The municipality via the municipal enterprise of Culture and Development, the cultural associations, and mainly the Cultural Association of Rodolivos, which may be at first called organisations of *cultural industries*[17]. It is noteworthy for the cohesion of the previously mentioned to waht follows that Vogiatzis was the Mayor of Amphipolis, president of the cultural association of his village, councellor of the perfecture of Serres (1998-2006), etc.

[16] Avtzis 1969: 28. It was written in 1932 and first presented the following year at the hill of Philopappou as a form of continuation of the Delphian Celebrations. Orpheus bids goodbye to his students and co-fighters and steps on top of Paggaion to deposit a rose on the therein altar of Apollo, where it belongs to him. His farewell speech depicts all the route of his teaching with an emphasis on his symbols, namely, the ear of wheat, the grapevine, the rose. See *inter alia* Xydes 1971; Malamou 2014.

[17] For the term see Varvounis, Sergis, Damianou, Maha-Mbizoumi, Theodoridou, 2016; Vernikos, Daskalopoulou et al. 2005; Avdikos 2014.

The Cultural Association of Rodolivos has existed since 1978. Amomg its multifaceted activities, the «Orphean Echoes» is a cultural event organised every 15th of August (the date is important because it is the day greek orthodox people celebrate the death of Virgin Mary), when a crowd of people flock to the village from the neighbouring areas. Since 1997-1999 the celebrations are co-organised with the Municipality's and other cultural organisations' participation and since 1999 they have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Municipal enterprise of Culture and Development (Stratis 2006: 71) who organises concerts, theatrical performances, cultural events without excluding the co-organisations with the Cultural Association and the recently formed Municipality of Amphipolis. I refer to the *Wine and Vineyard Celebrations* Κουρήτος[18] (= *Kouretos*) which are organised every September and connect the village to the dionysian worship since the area still possesses large areas of vineyards[19] (photos 2, 3).

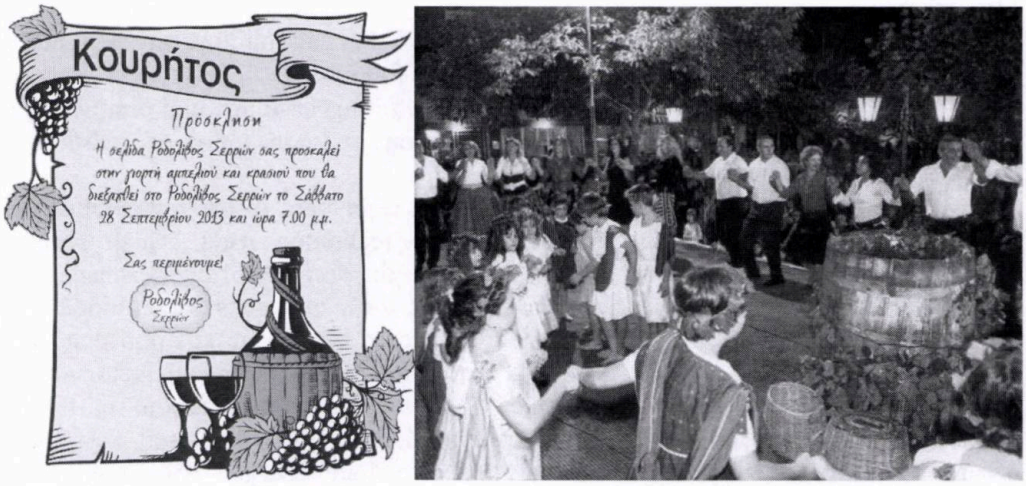

Photo 2, 3

The relationship of Laography-Folkloristics with tourism is a topic satisfactorily studied[20], along with that of the local/cultural associations and the so-called cultural organisations of the municipalities as *transformative bearers* of the *staged, folkloristic, modern folk civilisation* (in urban and countryside sites). In this sense, subjects, such as the *politisization* of the relevant events by the organising teams (eg. the securing of the election clientele) and most importantly their economic character have been researched.

[18] This is how the inhabitants of the village still call the huge barrel in which they tread the vines and store the wine.

[19] See http://frontoffice-mitrousis.dev.edu.uoc.gr/local-products/gastronomy/rodolivos.html.

[20] See *inter alia* Dalkavoukis 2016; Sergis 2016: 79-83; Varvounis 2013.

More specifically, the municipality with its cultural branch and the Cultural Association of the village attempt to organise and exploit the benefits of the *cultural tourism*[21], which is quite profitable in Greece. The members of of the aforementioned organisations (as agents), I think, co-form a «common organization», a «partnership», a «constitutionalised group» with pre-existing relationships and solidarity as their characteristics (see Parsons 1951). Being co-villagers, they also share (almost) common beliefs, they are parvaded by feelings of community, *collectiveness*, etc. The latter concept (fundamental ingerdient of the social practices) is established «symbolically as representation of ideal and moral aims, therefore, the participation in it means participation in these ideal and moral aims. The ideals and moral aims constitute the frame of similarity which presupposes feelings of solidarity» (Tsivakou 2006: 252). To achieve their aims the members use the *special practices* of the cultural tourism. It needs to be reminded here that «every special practice serves its special aim and comforms to the commands of the general practice while, at the same time, everybody's aims are submitted to their wider goal setting of the organization...» (Tsivakou 2006: 218). The «special practices» of the cultural tourism that the managers of the orphic myth use in the village are as follows:

– practices of production of cultural products. In this case, the end product of action (via the myth) is the production (reproduction) and consuption of tradition, history, mythology, entertainment etc.

– practices of trading of these «products». I refer here to the «interaction» between the «seller» and the «buyer», the «selling» techniques used. Which is the producers' *aesthetics*, for instance? Will it determine the duration of the «exchange» between the two parties? In what follows answers to these questions are provided.

– practices of consumption. I consider as acceptable the proposition that in the functional system of *entertainment* the *consumption* is a dominant factor «on the condition that there are no binding rules of manners and behaviours in it». It is certainly noteworthy that the value of the consumed product is determined, first, by the receiver's personality, who, as I argued elsewhere (Sergis 2016b) is not interested in matters of asthetics in the consumed spectacle-product, but focuses in other uses and functions of it. In our case, the «consumer» is interested in the fun, his/her mental translocation in the past, the likely joining in new social relationships, the unloading of the daily pressures, the showing off, the pleasure, the social validation etc. All participate in these consumptions (quite similar in their consuming preferences) are companions «in the journey of pleasure», because it is required that they have a common habitus, moulded (to Bourdieu 2006, 2003) by the class and cultural frame of their breeding. In this case, however, the useful in other interpretations concept by the French intellectual is unlikely to find a functional position. Tsivakou claims (ibid: 274-275) that the functional differentiation of the society creates *new prerequisites for similar «life-styles»*. This is actually what I meant when I referred earlier to the uploading of the daily life pressure of

[21] For this term see indicatively Bille & Schulze 2006.

the modern inhabitant of the cities. I feel this myself, when in some Sunday evenings I look forward to watching a football match on television.

The view that the cultural consumption is differentiated according to the social layer the individual persons belong to is a truism. The more modern researches, nonetheless, show that people of a certain social class participate in cultures and consume cultures that correspond to both an upper and a lower layer than theirs. In other words, the «folk» culture norm has now an interclass character as far as its consumption is concerned. The same applies for the «upper culture» norm. R. Peterson (1992, 2005) spoke about the phenomenon of (cultural) *omnivore* and *univore*, juxtaposing Bourdieu's interpretative scheme «high – middle – folk» with the social discrimination between omnivorous and univorous consumers. B. Lahire (2008) compares the notions of consonance # dissonance as characteristics of the practices of cultural consumption. The two aforementioned theories conclude that the cultural practices and (cultural) preferences and their relationship with the social classification are in contrast with Bourdieu's theory (2003) and the symbolic limits it sets between the social classes.

I also abide by Fiske's idea that eventually some groups of the (scorned) public have the power to produce a *multiplicity of meanings* from a (eg.) tv series, but also a plethora of *pleasures* from it. He maintains, in other words, that in a massive society, the *materials* and the *systems of meanings,* from which the cultures are created, are produced by the cultural industries, but their conversion to civilisation «... is a process that can be performed only by their consumers-users and not by their producers» (Fiske 2000: 469). The annual repetition of the *Orphean Echoes* with a similar or almost similar content, with the rush of crowds (different each time, but *excited by the same motivational needs)* validates in the eyes of the organisers of the «recreation and entertainment» their product and within the interaction with its «consumers» or an elaboration that they might accept after, for instance, an expert's or some «consumers'» suggestion. Nonetheless, nobody knows exactly which specific functions they perform each time for their public. We are used to say that these «neo-celebrations» (see Doulaveras 2013) appeal, entertain, succeed (for many people) the rebinding with the past, at least the temporary rebinding with the homeland and the familiar persons. The selected *ritual* by the «managers of tradition» enhances them. I believe it is no exaggeration to maintain that the *ritual* «legitimizes» their power. The *oral history, the collective memory,* and *memory* in general refer not so much to facts but (again) to meanings[22], since it is them which are interesting. The myths acquire existence in place and time when they are embodied in schemata that can function in *the present time.* These schemata seem to have been formed by the current managers of tradition. The discussion about the past of the community does not remain within the realm of narration but *is embodied in schemata* that can function in the present time of the community.

[22] See Ong 2001: 16.

EPILOGUE

The current study does not aim at proving that the ancient myth of Orpheus is related to Leiveithra of Pieria or to Rodolivos of Serres, but to highlight *the way* (specifically beyond abstract claims) the modern scholars preserve a myth that survived until our days, the way they interpret it and via which «special practices» of the «cultural tourism» they reinforce it in order to define and enhance the local identity of the inhabitants of their village. The myth, Barthes says, is not defined by the message of its meaning, but by the way it delivers this message (1979: 220 onwards).

No myth is developped in a context that is unsupportive and irrelevant to the reality which is construed by the prehistoric and archeological findings of the village. The developped relevant mythologies are connected with the myth, which is taken to be a confirmed story by the scholars, proven by sources with archeological findings and other historical evidence. *The existence of ancient greek monuments in the area is a different matter to that of their connection to the myth.* The receivers of any kind of mythical message will decode it on the basis of their experience, their knowledge, the surrounding meaning attributions and decodings. I beleive it is no offence to the folk people to suggest that their potential to control things critically is *objectively* limited.

Orpheus' myth and its connection to Rodolivos exist nowadays, as the relevant research shows, even in its general formulation and basic parameters. Few inhabitants know the details discussed above in this study. However, they are reminded on a daily basis by the scholars' writings (at a low degree), the people involved in the cultural matters of the village, the activities of the youth who participate in the cultural events, the various cultural celebrations, the school education, the manufactured daily life with the presence (via the name of the village) of the adept-hero and the related to him gods. All the data I mention below (that enhance the aforementioned «special practices» aim at the creation of a powerful, *tangible*, experiential relationship of the Rodolivians with the relevant myth.

Photo 4

– a Cultural Association of the village is called *Apollo*. They have taken part in many choral festivals and have gained awards (Strátis 2006: 65-67).

– There was a musico-theatrical group of Amateurs named *Apollo* (photo 4) who performed before the war (ibid: 108).

– Since 1961 the cinema *Rodon* (= Rose) exists owned by the Agricultural Association of the village (ibid: 74).

– The flannel suits of the athletes of the football team of the village carry a rose as their symbol (photo 5).

– In previous years a newspaper called Rodo (= Rose) of Paggaion circulated (ibid: 69).

– A lyre-monument stands in the central square of the village (photo 6). The symbolism of monuments (I remind here) is a powerful process, which connects and sets fields of experience and knowledge and contributes extensively with the power of its composing elements to the perception, the elaboration, the interprettation and the making of reality, it creates knowledge etc.[23]. The symbol, the way of its usage, its orientation, its meaning are here co-offered.

– Recently the inhabitants of the village were spurred to plant roses in their yards, the symbolic plants that would connect *in a direct way* the past with the present of the community. It is a noteworthy practice; the tourist gaze becomes once more a factor of acculturation since it influences the folk civilisation of the vilage and *manufactures* the expected from the tourists' historical connection, their «transportation» (in other words) to an ancient place and time (which has always been a fundamental aim of the touristic phenomenon).

Furthermore, the people involved in the administrative and educative matters of the village favoured and eventually succeeded to name the primary School of the village *Orpheus*, a microtoponym of the village is called *Orpheus' valley* (Vogiatzis, Simoglou 2008: 243), a hotel in Kornistra of Serres is called *the land of Orpheus*[24], local wines carry the name *Orphic wine*, etc.

Photo5

Photo 6

[23] See more analytically (and in specific for the function of monuments) Sergis 2015.

[24] A similar trend can be traced around Greece. For example, a tavern called «Agamemnon» can be found at Mycenae, a shish kebap restaurant called «Alexander the Great» at Macedonia, a transportation company called «Ariadni» at Naxos island, etc.

In other words, to return to the beginning of this work, (in the greek scholars' of the 19th century effort to reinforce their previously existing link to their ancient greek past or to invent it in some cases), the nowadays' scholars of Rodolivos use the *cultural capital*[25] offered to them by the antiquity (in its *historical* and *mythological dimension*, the latter mainly) as a mechanism of organization and enhancement of the local identity of the village, in its ancient worship version only, but also more widely as a political and economic instrument. The cultural capital is nowadays a mechanism of wealth production[26] and we cannot remain blind to this fact. It contains possibilities that allow its management under market terms, it is inserted to the «local resources» so as to be exploited, it does not belong only to the *Non-Use Values* but to something in between: to what has been characterized as *externalities* which constitutes a third type of appreciated *values* deriving from the (unavoidable) interaction of the other two[27] (Mason 2002: 10, 28). It goes without saying that I have proven once again that the cultural capital is open to a variety of management procedures. No one, I believe, can doubt that a people's *past* can contribute to the function of a more symmetrical present time when the multitude of its managers make it worthy in a correct and creative way[28].

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[25] From the plethora of relevant literature, see indicatively Throsby 1999 και 2001.

[26] More and more scientists (economists, etc) deal with the financial issues of culture. See *inter alia* Olson 2000.

[27] I mean the *Use Value* and *Non-Use Value* ones.

[28] I simply touch upon a thorny issue of the modern greek culture, namely, the way classical heritage is offered for use by the extreme right (either the fascist party of the Golden Dawn or groups of similar beliefs who spread xenophobic, sexist and extreme nationalistic ideas, using as their pretext the cultivation of the classical heritage). Greece came quite well to know in the past what it means to ridicule its classical tradition and its folk culture by fascist regimes that governed it (e.g. 1936 onwards and 1967 onwards).

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SURPRISES OF TYPOLOGY: FROM THE WORLD OF ANCIENT GREEK AND KAZAKH LYRIC POETRY

ALMA B. KUNANBAEVA

ABSTRACT[1]

In the spirit of the law of typological succession, pioneered by Boris Putilov, the living Kazakh oral-written tradition, with its vibrancy and its typological completeness can explain the nature of ancient Greek poetry, which we have only in fragments, and, in case of the obscure Archilochus' so-called *Cologne fragment*, without obvious context. *Agon* in ancient Greece and *aitys* (song competition) in Kazakhstan gave rise to a specific culture of word and behavior. Thanks to Kazakh source material, it becomes possible to advance the hypothesis about the typological affinity of the Archilochus fragment to the idiosyncratic genre of the *aitys* in letters. The living sheds light on the long dead. The Kazakh present-day experience suggests that we should read the ancient Greek texts as chronologically distant, but typologically close in terms of worldview. The fragments of the past find not only form, but also, in their way, a voice, and reveal themselves as signs of a long-ago type of behavior.
Keywords: ancient Greek literature, Archilochus, Kazakh folk poetry, song-letters, dialogic competition genre, typological succession, *agon*, *aitys*, ethnomusicology, folkloristics, Boris Putilov, Alexander Zaitsev.

> "Firstly, I do not subscribe to the rigid doctrine that the insider alone understands.... Secondly, I do not believe in scholarship as the sole key to a great work. A reader or listener genuinely attuned needs none of the philologist's equipment to enter into the author's world. He may find treasures old and new in a translation of a translation of a translation. Schopenhauer became acquainted with the Upanishads through a Latin rendering of a Persian rendering..." (Daube 2000: 366, 367).

[1] Apart from the abstract in the beginning, and the revising, correcting and reformatting of the notes and bibliography, the text is originally published in Russian as *Siurprizy tipologii: iz mira drevnegrecheskoj i kazakhskoj poeticheskoj liriki* [Surprises of Typology: From the World of Ancient Greek and Kazakh Lyric Poetry] in: Boris Putilov. *Fol'klor i narodnaia kul'tura. In Memoriam.* Compiled by Yevgenia Putilova. Editor-in-chief Alexander Anfert'ev. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie [Petersburg's Oriental Studies], 2003. P. 321-334. (Ethnographica Petropolitana, IX). The present translation was made from the original Russian manuscript in 2009 by Sara S. Moore and updated in 2019.

1.

I only know ancient Greek lyric poetry through Russian translations (Vikenty Veresaev, Yakov Golosovker, Viktor Yarkho, and others), and I feel a certain awkwardness intruding upon a world which I have not researched in the original. I do not think that the epigraph I have cited above could fully excuse this impudence, so let me begin with how I became fascinated by such an unexpected typological parallel.

It should be noted that the unexpectedness is relative. Often, when reading ancient poetry in Russian translation and Kazakh poetic texts in the original (since the overwhelming majority of it hasn't been translated into any other language at all), I have been struck by the concordance of their poetics and system of thinking. Only in the mid-1990s, when the first high quality translations of traditional Kazakh poetry of the 15-17th centuries into Russian language began to finally appear, penned by the Kazakh poet, researcher and translator Kairat Zhanabaev,[2] did the similarities seem to materialize.

In 1997 I was at the University of California at Berkeley where my esteemed spouse, Izaly Zemtsovsky, was conducting a graduate seminar on folkloric theory. This gave me the opportunity to familiarize myself completely with an ancient Greek text in English which I had not read before. [3] It happened that one of my husband's students, Yelena Baraz,[4] a classicist, asked his opinion about the text—a mystery of the ancient world— hoping that his folkloric erudition would shed some light on the nature of its genre. Considering the dialogic character of the passage, Zemtsovsky immediately recalled comparable materials presented in an article by folklorist Alan Dundes (1934-2005) about the oral duels of Turkish boys, in which the winner calls the loser "old woman."[5] Not disputing that parallel, I in turn recalled the Kazakh traditional *aitys* (literally, 'talk together,' referring to a *battle of words,* usually a dialogic competition between two or more poets or bards). The *aitys* is an idiosyncratic type of singing duel. I gave my hypothesis on the similarity of this ancient Greek text with the special *written aitys* genre, where an *aitys* is recorded in letters.

In the spirit of the law of typological succession, pioneered by Boris N. Putilov (1919-1997),[6] it is by no means fantastic to claim a parallel between the

[2] See, for example, Zhanabaev 1994.

[3] Eastering and Knox 1989: 83-85.

[4] As of this editing, in 2019, Baraz is an Associate Professor of Classics in the Department of Classics at Princeton University.

[5] Dundes 1970; 1978.

[6] A note on the law of typological succession: According to Putilov, historical-typological links and relationships operate throughout the course of the historical process of folklore and encompass all of its aspects. They are universal, constant, and continuous. Putilov stressed the law of "typological succession" that he himself elaborated. The essence of this folkloric law is that various common features of a given folklore are as if internally successive, i.e., some of its works and types arise as a result of inheritance and development of that what has been achieved by others, i.e., by the folklore of other ethnicities. Succession is not the commonness of parallels but the sequence of relationships. According

genre of oral-written Kazakh poetry, dated approximately between the 16th and 20th centuries CE, and the genre of oral-written ancient Greek poetry, dated (in this case) around the 7th century BCE. It is a question of – using the fortunate expression of Putilov – the preservation and comparison of particular "typological conditions."[7] In this case we are witnessing the birth of a practically unexamined type of poetry: the unique phenomenon of the oral-written tradition, specifically the oral-written tradition of the *dialogic competition* genre.

It is very important to take note of two fundamental qualities of this genre. The first concerns the oral-written form manifested as part of poetic, improvisational singing competitions. The second concerns, more broadly, the types of cultures and particular places where this seeming "world of competition" takes place.

2.

This is a question of song competitions that manifest not just in one format— oral or written— but in both simultaneously. Song competitions occur in famous oral poetry in many ethnic traditions, from Central Asia and Japan to Africa and Polynesia.[8] However, competitions such as these, in the format of letters, or written lyrics, and then read aloud (passing them along orally), and also written song dialogues, are a phenomenon that may really be exclusively Kazakh in nature.

It is known that poetic competitions among Kazakhs took place on social holidays and feasts: always at large gatherings (written about by Viktor Zhirmunsky[9]). By tradition, the loser was supposed to recall by memory the entire *aitys*, with all its dialogues and retorts. The classic example of such an *aitys*, preserved in folkloric tradition, is "Birzhan-Sara," concerning two *akyn* poets: improvisational poets and singers in the tradition of the Turkic-language culture of Central Asia, usually Kazakh or Kyrgyz, who took part in competitions. In this classic example, the loser, the splendid young *akyn* poet Sara (Sara Tastanbekkyzy, 1878-1916), commemorated her duel with the eminent *akyn* poet Birzhan (Birzhan-sal Kozhagululi, 1831-1897). Subsequently, an introduction to that oral text was added with the story of the life of Sara, written by the *akyn* poet Argyn. That addition to the text of the improvised traditional oral *aitys* was the first record of an *aitys*' performer, in the place of a literary record. From there it was just one step to the self-recording tradition, and Kazakhs took that step with their famous written *aityses.*

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to this law, the traces of prehistory of a given genre (or form) in folklore of an ethnic group or nation we can find in the folklore of other peoples (or nations). Folklore is developing with some enigmatic breaks in the chain of succession: those links in the chain of tradition which are absent in one folklore can be reconstructed, according to the law of typological succession, by a proper study of another folklore. See Putilov 1968, Putilov 1971, Putilov 1988 (see the section "Plot typology and typological succession"), Putilov 1993.

[7] Putilov 1993: 280.

[8] Finnegan 1992: 229.

[9] Zhirmunsky 1974: 638; additionally (added in English translation): Kuiper 1960; 1983. See also a Russian article: Agapkina 1998.

Another famous poet, Shalkiiz (1465-1560), wrote:

Ink is black and paper is white,
They are calling you to pour out art on the pages…
If you get a letter with a fancy seal…[10]

Shalkiiz belonged the tradition of *zhyrau* poets: a singer who sings only epics, more like a shaman than an *akyn*. Additionally, the *zhyrau* did not enter competitions (as did *akyns*). Epic poets such as Shalkiiz give us the phenomenon of oral-written art: they improvised, sang and composed, recording it in writing at the same time. And this tradition, unexpected for folklore but normal in the early stages of a society's development of literature, known equally to ancient Greeks and Kazakhs, continues in Kazakhstan to the present day. I should confess that we ethnomusicologists have long preferred to ignore the oral-written art phenomenon, instead focusing on proving the oral nature of our literature, so much an unbroken part of musical performance, that we might lightly relegate this tradition to the sphere of folklore and only folklore. Meanwhile, our singers and folk storytellers have shown us suitcases of writings in Kazakh. Among these were many sets of lyrics, some in Arabic, more rarely in Latin and more recently in Cyrillic. The musical notation generally was missing, so it was as if all that poetic wealth was not part of folklore, in its then-conventional sense (i.e., folklore being defined as poetic texts with music, sung broadly and anonymously). At the same time we did not know yet that in the Russian epic tradition, on which we were virtually compelled to focus during the Soviet years, there also were many literary sources not taken into consideration by folklorists.[11] Meanwhile, even our young "informers," folklore experts, were always writing something in their secret journals, each to their own ability. It gives the impression that the carefully hidden written manifestation of the Kazakh traditional epic and lyrics found tangential support only in the publications of a few Kazakh texts which had their own authors[12] and were dated with reasonable certainty...[13]

I present here, in chronological order, a few significant examples not yet discussed in Russian language scholarship. (The translations from the Kazakh language below were done by myself especially for this comparative study.)

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[10] Magauin 1970: 44; "fancy seal" may refer to receiving a letter from a government official.

[11] See, for example, Novikov 1985; 2001. P.G. Gorshkov, one of the Northern Russian folk storytellers, even wrote epic poems about himself which began: "I read wonderfully, I have a brilliant memory, {carrying stories like the heroes who travel} from Chernigov to Tsargrad {Constantinople}, from Tsargrad to White Moscow, nobody is better at memorization than me, nobody is better-read!" (Astakhova 1927: 112, recorded in Zaonezhye (the historic name of a region in Northern Karelia, Russia).

[12] In Soviet times, folklore was considered collective art, by definition having no authors. For Kazakhs, these folk artists were professionals and their work should have authors.

[13] See, for example, Magauin and Baidil'daev 1984-85, Mukanov and Ismailov 1942, Mukanov, 1964, 1965, Zharmukhamedov 1988, and others.

Akyn Kashagan Kurzhimanuly (1841-1929) participated in *aitys* competitions, the texts of which are preserved in traditional memory. The following excerpt is typical in character and style. The text was recorded in 1967 from the *akyn* Kumar Zhusupov.[14] The publisher called it "Spoken to Izbas."

"They say," began the *akyn* Kumar, "there was a young *akyn* named Izbas, egged on by judges[15] and local officials[16] he resolved to humble Kashagan with his childlessness and poverty. In that way he made bold to stretch himself with such pacers[17] of the poetic word as Kashagan and Sattygul. In this way he bullied Kashagan:

If you are Kashagan, don't be shy, show your power!
Will the rider with a spear atilt, on a leaping steed
Leave you in peace, whether you run or don't run?[18]

Then Kashagan snubbed him (i.e., "shut him up") thus:

My great forefather is Er Kosai,
My own name is Kashagan,
My life has drawn out seventy years already.
My name is known not only to the *Adai* but also the *Alshyn*.[19]
And so, these days, when I'm reaching seventy,
Your eye, Izbas, has rested on me,
Thinking— he's a senile old man with weak limbs!
I do not respect you even as much as the mosquito, the gnat, or the fly.
Am I right or not? What do you say?
You, truth-knowing, commanding!
Your idle talk reached the hearing of the people.
To relentlessly persecute *akyns* and *zhirshes*[20] such as myself
Is your unquenchable desire.
Oh Izbas, you who has touched me!
Your hole, which is the size of an eye, will become the size of a lake![21]
In vain you have exalted yourself, you reveal the flaw of your lips.
I only answer you in order to entertain people,
Otherwise this would be an empty waste of time.
My words are shining gold; yours are dirty coal.
If you say this isn't so, let's take it to a court of experts.
They say they throw sinners that lie like you into the scorching heat of hell.
By your own nature you are an ass, while I'm *Tulpar* [22]

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[14] Derbisalin 1985: 227, 229.

[15] *Bii* – a traditional honorific for someone of stature in a community, such as judges or county supervisors.

[16] *Volostnye* - supervisors of the local volost, a local administrative district.

[17] A type of horse known to be swift.

[18] There is a play on words here. The Kazakh word "Kash" – the root word in the famous *akyn* Kashagan's name – means "to run away."

[19] The *Adai* and the *Alshyn* are Kazakh tribal groups. Kashagan himself was of the Adai. Obviously, this reference could mean to him: "known to all Kazakhs."

[20] *Zhyrshy* – a Kazakh traditional epic storyteller.

[21] This is an allegorical insult, i.e., "you shit all over". ("Your hole" means "your anus.")

[22] *Tulpar* – the winged steed of Kazakh legend, parallel to ancient Pegasus.

The tramping of whose hooves is heard not only by the Adai but the Alshyn.
Having insulted me, you have drawn to your own misfortune the attention
Of such a one who since youth was a master of wit, and has spellbound crowds, like me.
Not only for the Adai but also for the Alshyn I am equal to a *khan* or *hakim*.[23]
You are not even a pacer anyone would notice,
But a harmful one, obsessed, unconsciously catching on the wrong thing,
From which I will knock the demon! …
<…>
Why, by what right, do you dare sneer at an old man
Who has no relation to you whatsoever?!

Re-reading my own translation (from the Kazakh to the Russian), done literally, I must ask: how is it that it has a familiar, striking similarity to Russian translations of ancient Greek verses? Doesn't it seem that there is as close a relationship between the original Greek texts and the Kazakh texts as between the Russian translation of the Greek texts and the Kazakh texts?

There is similarity with the written poetry of the Greeks, and what is more the next example demonstrates it perfectly. It is a question of the phenomenon of *written recordings* of *aityses* – written and circulated by the authors themselves.

The overwhelming majority of works by the *akyn* Zhusup Eshniyazuly (1871-1927), according to the testimony of Ruslan Akhmetov,[24] are *aityses*, all of which are written down! Even more remarkable is the *aitys* with Zhusup Kadyrbergenuly, both because of the volume (809 lines) and artistic merit. Here is the history of that *aitys* in letters.

In 1908 the *akyns* of the region, Syrdari Nakyp-Khodzha and Zhusup Kadyrbergenuly, engaged in an *aitys*… through correspondence! During this *aitys* Zhusup tries to drive back his opponent with the following argument: "Why do you need songs? Isn't your religion enough for you?" With this the dispute had become a merciless verbal duel, and was stopped by their kinsmen.

Zhusup Eshniyazuly, knowing about this *aitys*, writes his first letter to Zhusup Kadyrbergenuly, starting with these words: "The acknowledgement of singing as a great (unpardonable) sin must be shameful for you, al-Hajji!"[25] Further, citing an eastern legend, he comes to the conclusion: "In order to teach others, a man must himself be a worthy example. His soul must be clean; otherwise the poet will remain without listeners and will become a laughing-stock." At the same time, Zhusup Eshniyazuly reproaches his addressee for the desire, after pushing aside others, to show off by himself.

A few other poets, learning about the course of the contest, begin writing (sic!) protest songs with the goal of keeping the *aitys* from turning into a scandal. In 1915, the famous poets Ibrai and Danmuryn stopped the duel, and, after

[23] *Khan* – Central Asian title for a sovereign or military ruler; *Hakim* – Arabic or Urdu honorific for a judge, arbitrator, mayor or governor.

[24] Zharmukhamedov 1988: 300-301.

[25] *Khodzha* – al-Hajji, or El-Hajj, is an honorific title given to a Muslim person who has successfully completed the Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca.

choosing worthy representatives of each side, gathered in the center of the the Akmecheti District (the present-day city Kzyl-Orda). There, the representatives, previously unacquainted with Zhusupy, met and made peace. In that way, this seven year-long written *aitys* was successfully brought to a close in 1915.

The last example is from a collection of songs recorded between 1984 and 1994 and was the first published collection of letter-songs (*khat-olen*), created by Kazakh soldiers and their friends and families during World War II (1941-1945).[26] This book documents the surprising phenomenon of a mass, nation-wide correspondence. As confirmed by the folklorist Talasbek Asemkulov, the *khat-olen* is one of the foundational genres of Kazakh poetry, which began in the Ancient Turkish period. Asemkulov sees them in epitaphs, carved as Turkish runes on rocks. "Kazakh literature couldn't depart from the main canons of the Ancient Turkish oral art form. Therefore, the ancient tradition – the transmittal of military and psychological experiences through letters – was solidly affirmed in the Kazakh folkloric and literary tradition."[27] Many letters and messages were turned into excellent songs. The oral and the written do not simply coexist in the tradition, but seemingly overflow one into another, one from another, forming a special type of cultural art form – a phenomenon not of some intermediate phase, but an independent oral-written form.

In this way, regardless of the obvious, multiple and indisputable factors, the role of writing in the Kazakh song tradition wasn't simply quieted during the Soviet years, but rather seemed to go unnoticed. The three main reasons for this are ideological. First: if folklore is the art of the oral tradition, then writing it down lessens it, makes it less worthy, in agreement with accepted doctrine. Second: given that the Soviets forced the Kazakhs to using the Cyrillic alphabet, the admission of any other literary capability, moreover in an Arabic alphabet, was not permissible and was practically anti-Soviet. Third: the oral-written texts sometimes contained sharply accusatory content, truthfully chronicling people's suffering at the military fronts and during their travels, content which did not meet the standard of the censor's office for folkloric poetics.

Finally, there was a fourth reason, something special which brings song-letters together with ancient Greek material: their merciless frankness, mean-spirited ridicule, derision, harassment, and insulting threats, i.e., all that distinguishes the famous ancient *iambic poems*[28] by *Archilochus*[29]. Archilochus in particular interests us. In the ancient world, iambic meter was linked with specific iambic topics, sometimes openly cynical (so-called *invective* songs). This form came to literature from folklore. "It is usual to introduce into [this form] abuse of your

[26] Baitenova 1995.

[27] Baitenova 1995: 22.

[28] Poems created in the Ancient Greek tradition of iambic verse meaning both a metric foot, (an "iamb" being one metric foot: two syllables, short-long) and also a genre and tone of vicious personal attack.

[29] *Archilochus* – c. 680-645 BCE, famous Greek satirical poet, also a mercenary soldier, known for his meanness.

opponent, caustic remarks, mean-spirited threats, to pour out a sense of humor or mockery; the personal nature of invectives allows the creation of iambs out of habit… taking the form of personal appearances on different particular occasions. This is the way of Archilochus and Hipponax."[30,31]

Speaking of typology, we must consider not only parallels in genre, but also the cultural and psychological contexts of the subjects of the works being subjected to comparison. Therefore, the following observation is very important: "In antiquity every single work is addressed to somebody: Greece, ignorant of the epistolary genre, renders its entire body of literature as though it were a single message. However, the first appeal is not of an abstract nature, but rather concrete and material." This was noted by Olga Freidenberg, as though she was thinking of the Kazakhs.[32] This similarity of poetic genres, however, isn't the only typological parallel attracting our attention.[33]

3.

The question at hand is really one of the place and meaning of the competitive moment in traditional culture. Alexander Zaitsev (1926-2000) consistently and convincingly demonstrated the competitive moment using ancient Greek texts.[34] Moreover, he advanced the daring hypothesis that Greece experienced its unusual cultural blossoming between the 8th and 5th centuries BCE precisely because of the fundamentality of the competitive component of ancient Greek society, as a result of the psychological dominance of the *Agon*.[35]

The following digression (which, unfortunately, must be condensed here) explores the fact that we allow ourselves, *a la* Zaitsev, to call Kazakh culture *Agonic* (or – in our case – *aitystic*). This digression does not in any way pretend to the status of proof—which can only be attained in a special monograph. Hoping that such a monograph about the competitive nature of Kazakh culture will someday be written, for now I only want to focus on this aspect in the ways that it is most important for us, historically and typologically. A serious explanation of

[30] *Hipponax* – mid-6th century BCE, famous Greek satirical poet with an infamously malicious character, he is sometimes credited with the invention of parody. He invented his own version of the iambic trimeter, making it end with a spondee, the so-called 'limping iambic' or scazon.

[31] Freidenberg 1936: 295; "If they are iambs, that means they are mockery." (ibid.: 288.)

[32] Freidenberg 1936: 140.

[33] In no way do I stop with the one other kind of typological similarity, about which even Viktor Zhirmunsky wrote: "The similarity between the *Odyssey* and *Alpamysh* makes it possible to raise the question about the earliest connections between ancient Greek and Central-Asian culture— more precisely, about eastern influences on Greek culture" (Zhirmunsky 1979: 335). I'm only focusing on clear typological parallels, such as the three-part understanding of the term "iamb" in Ancient Greek tradition— as a poetic meter, as a stanza, and as a genre— an understanding that corresponds with the analogue three-part understanding of the term *zhyr* in the Kazakh tradition.

[34] Zaitsev 1985; 2001.

[35] *Agon* – Ancient Greek word meaning a contest, competition, or challenge that was held in connection with religious festivals; also, the struggle between characters in Ancient Greek drama.

the separate typological parallels of Kazakh and ancient Greek culture is only possible against the background of this broad understanding.

An enumeration of types and forms of *aitys* is simply striking, all permeated with qualities of dialogue and question-and-answer: horse sport; competitive games between adults, young people both male and female, and children; Kazakh traditional song genres; rites, rituals and customs. Unfortunately, we still lack a complete nomenclature to describe these phenomena in Kazakh ethnography and folklore. I will list only a few examples, without stopping to consider the parallels known to me from the related cultures of the peoples of Southern Siberia, Central Asia, and the Caucuses.

Folk holidays and games: *baiga* (a contest of riders) and *alaman baiga* (a long-distance horse race), *zhorga zharys* (contest of pacers[36]), *saiys* (single combat between riders with lances), *audaryspak* (fighting on horseback to unseat your rival), *kokpar tartu* (a race to catch a goat-carcass being dragged by a lead rider), *zhambu atu* or *altyn kabak* (target-shooting with bow or guns at a full gallop), *kamus alu* (traditional trick riding), *kazakhsha kures* (wrestling competition), the competition of representatives from different societal groups, always including blacksmiths and masters of wit, a rope-pulling contest,[37] and also *kyz kuu* ("overtake the young woman" – the prize is marriage) and many wedding games of this sort— a competition between the bridegroom and the bride, the bride's girlfriends of bride and the bridegroom's attendants,[38] and other group contests between the two families brought together in the marriage.[39] Similar *Agonic* ritual games always took place in large gatherings, at events where different families would gather – primarily weddings and funeral feasts. To the present day the wedding song *zhar-zhar*, with dialogue between male and female groups, is the most popular game. On the basis of epic legends "it is possible to think that the *zhar-zhar* was also used for singing contests on various themes during weddings."[40]

The numerous varieties of the *aitys* itself are the central genre field of Kazakh poetic culture. I will only name a few genres: *kyz ben zhigit aitysy* (an *aitys* between a young woman and young man), *din aitysy* (a religious *aitys*), *zhumbak aitysy* (an *aitys* with riddles), *akyndar aitysy* (an *aitys* between akyns), and others.[41] There were *aityses* between *akyns* on narrow themes (for example, *may olen, su olen, zher olen*; such an *aitys* tested the geographical knowledge of the *akyns*) and also large-scale competitive singing improvisation at weddings (*kaim olen*). Dialogue was used also in charms (*badik*),[42] and in children's songs (for example, the argument between the nanny-goat and the ewe – in fact, an animal *aitys*!)[43]

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[36] In the West, this might be called Standardbred horse racing with pacers (horses that use a parallel, not diagonal trotting gait, and are faster than trotters).

[37] In the West, this would be called "tug-of-war."

[38] *Djigit* – literally, horseman/young man on horseback; here, meaning friends of the groom.

[39] See in the book Taizhanova 1995:196-206.

[40] Akhmetov 1964: 237.

[41] Reichl 1992: 77.

[42] *Badik* – a spoken charm or incantation.

[43] For more on these kinds of aityses, see Auezov 1959: 318-359; Zharmukhamedov 1976.

Competitions between musicians were also popular (*tartys*).[44] *Aityses* are so beloved by Kazakhs, they sometimes extend not only for days, but past midnight, right through to sunrise.

According to Edyge D. Tursunov,[45] there are three conditions for the participation in contests (in addition to professional mastery): 1) representatives from the same family, as well as those who are related through the paternal line, may not compete with each other; 2) each participant is obligated to praise his family and to criticize the rival's family; and 3) forms of address contradicting normative ethics are permitted during the contest. As a result, every kind of *aitys* or *tartys*[46] was a major event of social significance.

We need to give special attention to the make-up of groups of itinerant singers, *sal*, *sere*,[47] and bards (*akyns*): according to tradition, groups included, in addition to musicians, a humorist (master of wit), blacksmith/jeweler and strongman/ wrestler. In the make-up of such "brigades," it was as though the implied basic poetic metaphors were personified: the *smithing* word, the *triumphant* word, the *muscular* word, the *striking* and *well-aimed* word. The image and its embodiment traveled together – the word being sharpened simultaneously as idea and as visible act. Competitiveness became literally the body and soul of the culture. It isn't by chance that "The Letter of Tatiana" from *Eugene Onegin* by Alexander Pushkin, translated by Abai Kunanbaev[48] in the end of the 1880s, became a true folk song for Kazakhs. It became popular together with the reply letter of Onegin, added by Kunanbaev in accordance with the folk tradition of the *aitys*, and, as usual, the letter and the answer "were created with one and the same musical motif."[49] Out of the whole novel only precisely that *love duel* entered Kazakh singing tradition in a persistent way.

To a certain extent competitiveness equalized all social, age and gender groups. Even protected members of family and society such as fathers could be drawn into a game with teasing. There is a unique Kazakh saying about this: "if you find the appropriate words, then you can even play with father."

Agon in ancient Greece and *aitys* in Kazakhstan gave rise to a specific culture of word and behavior, considerably different from Neo-European literary forms. Therefore, for example, epic genres and the "institution" of epic poetry as a whole,

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[44] For more details, see Amanov 1985.

[45] Tursunov 1976: 122.

[46] An *aitys* between musicians, as noted previously.

[47] Tursunov 1976: 122. The author traces the origin of *sal* and *sere* to the institution of secret male ritual relationships during the period of military democracy. We will not forget that the ruling class in the Greek society of the Homeric epoch was a military aristocracy. (See also Amirova 1990.) It is essential to recall the traditional permissibility of the anti-social behavior of *sals* and *seres*, which permitted that they never had to say goodbye to anyone. (The *sal {сал}* and *sere {серэ}* in Kazakh culture were traveling folk artists, who were given wide latitude in their social behavior.)

[48] Abay Ibrahim Qunanbayuly (1845-1904), written in Russian as Abai Ibrahim Kunanbaev, was a Kazakh poet, musician, composer, and philosopher.

[49] Bisenova 1995: 64.

in spite of its antiquity, passed more naturally into the European literary traditions known to us than the extremely archaic institutions of the *aitys*, practically inseparable from its traditional native practice. In their time they permeated literally everything, beginning with any celebratory meal and ending with the competitions of the epic folk storytellers. As it is known, in ancient Greece the institutionalized competitions of *aoidos*[50] go back to the preliterate epoch. Noting that the professionalization of ancient Greek *aoidos* and rhapsodists[51] contributes to the development of competition between the traditional storytellers of epics, Alexander Zaitsev gives parallels from the epic traditions of the Turkish peoples of Central Asia (referring also to the book Ismailov 1957), the Buryat and other ethnic traditions of antiquity. Let me present a few characteristic quotations from Zaitsev's book which relate to Greece regarding so-called competitive societies. "We have evidence speaking about the early permeation of *Agon* into the most varied genres."[52] "The competitive principle permeated ancient Greece as early as elementary education, in the hands of teachers of reading and writing, music and gymnastics."[53] "In ancient Greece, in both the archaic and classical epochs, the public's opinion of a man was the most important regulator of individual behavior in all its real manifestations."[54] "The tendency toward public abuse of enemies and rivals, which is already vividly manifest in Homer, is characteristic for Greeks of all epochs."[55] "The Greek is focused on approval and reprimand."[56] "Sensitivity to reprimand and mockery is very characteristic for the people of ancient Greece."[57] "The condition of competition and *Agon*, in which ancient Greek literature was developed from folklore, led to the early development of authorship claims."[58] Again it occurs to me: is the respected Alexander Iosifovich Zaitsev not writing about the Kazakhs here?!

Again and again I wish to emphasize the most important point: we are not just typologically comparing the separate poetic texts of ancient Greeks and Kazakhs, but also their cultures, the types of their cultures; we are comparing the very nature of their competitiveness.

4.

Let us at last turn to the text of Archilochus, and to the poet himself.

Naum Sakharnyi emphasizes in the preface to *Hellenic Poets in the Translations of Vikenty Veresaev*[59] that we see amorous themes in European poetry

[50] *Aoidos* – in Ancient Greece, an oral epic poet who performed with a lyre.
[51] *Rhapsodos* – in Ancient Greece, a singer of epics, usually depicted with a staff.
[52] Zaitsev 1985: 153.
[53] Zaitsev 1985: 83.
[54] Zaitsev 1985: 81.
[55] Zaitsev 1985: 79.
[56] Zaitsev 1985: 76.
[57] Zaitsev 1985: 80.
[58] Zaitsev 1985: 155.
[59] Veresaev 1963.

for the first time in the verses of Archilochus, and the revelation of this theme has the striking frankness and directness of erotica. In revenge for causing him an offense Archilochus was truly "scorpion-tongued:"

> … in this I am a great master—
> With terrible harm to pay back whoever causes harm to me.

In preserved fragments Archilochus is revealed to be a master of different poetic genres. Some of the fragments bear a striking resemblance to typical Kazakh verses recited in the style of *terme*[60]— strung in a necklace of instructive sayings:

> Heart, heart! By the threatening {military} rank arose the misfortunes before you.
> Take courage and meet them chest-first, and let us strike the enemies!
> Let there be ambushes all around-- stand solidly, do not quiver.
> If you are victorious, do not put your victory up for show,
> If they are victorious, do not be distressed, {do not} lock yourself up in your house, do not cry,
> Moderately celebrate success, moderately grieve your miseries.
> Learn that rhythm that is hidden in human life.
> It is improper to mock the dead…

Archilochus, a poet of the second quarter to middle of the seventh century BCE, was born on the island of Paros c. 680 or 700 BCE. His personal tragedy recalls a tragedy typical of traditional Kazakh society. He was in love with Neobule, the youngest daughter of Lycambes, a famous citizen of Paros. At first Lycambes consented to the marriage, but then changed his mind, probably because of the prohibition on marrying away the younger daughter before the elder daughter, or perhaps because Lycambes learned that Archilochus' mother was a slave. Archilochus, enraged, responded to this offense with a full poisonous volley of iambs: songs in which both Lycambes and his former fiancée were dragged through the mud.

> … but believe, that I am a master
> At being a friend to my friends, but biting my enemies
> As does an ant…

According to the legend, the disgraced Neobule and her sister hanged themselves out of despair, and their father also committed suicide.

Ancient iambs were terrifying, almost like Kazakh *aityses*, and made a personal issue into an issue between clans, thus carrying a private matter to the public level, discussed openly and judged socially.

Archilochus, as would a Kazakh *sal* or *sere*, consciously having thrown away the protocol of conventional standards of behavior, directly declared that he did not want to take tradition into consideration, and felt like he could make free with his relations with others:

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[60] Terme – literally, 'to string,' as in 'to string something like pearls,' or 'threading': a talkative, improvisational Kazakh genre where the author lists a string of aphorisms or pieces of advice.

In my youth a steep mountainous ravine was I…
You will often amass, amass money-- amass it at length and with difficulty,
And into the stomach of a corrupt wench suddenly and utterly you would spend your money completely on that whore.

His elitism wasn't socio-economic, but rather of moral virtue. In fragment 64 D he speaks ironically about being of high birth. His opinion of himself was more important than his real status.

Here is a full translation from Greek to English of Archilochus' so-called *Cologne fragment*:[61]

'…but if you're in a hurry and can't wait for me
there's another girl in our house who's quite ready
to marry, a pretty girl, just right for you.'
That was what she said, but I can talk too.
'Daughter of dear Amphimedo,' I said,
'(a fine woman she was—pity she's dead)
there are plenty of kinds of pretty play
young men and girls can know and not go all the way[62]
-- something like that will do.[63] As for marrying,
we'll talk about that again when your mourning
is folded away, god willing. But now
I'll be good, I promise—I do know how.
Don't be hard, darling. Truly I'll stay
out on the garden-grass, not force the doorway
-- just try. But as for that sister of yours,
Someone else can have her. The bloom's gone—she's coarse
-- the charm too (she had it)—now she's on heat
the whole time, can't keep away from it—
damn her, don't let anyone saddle me with that.[64]
With a wife like she is I shouldn't half
give the nice neighbors a belly-laugh.
You're all right darling. You're simple and straight
-- she takes her meat off anyone's plate.
I'd be afraid if I married her
my children would be like the bitch's litter
-- born blind, and several months too early.'
But I'd talked enough. I laid the girl
down among the flowers. A soft cloak spread,

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[61] In the original Russian article, the translation into Russian from the Ancient Greek original was done by Yelena Baraz, especially for the article, for which the author offers her deep gratitude. The English version presented here was done by Martin Robertson, a specialist in the field of Greek painting. (Note that the formal reference to this fragment is usually notated *P. Colon. inv. 7511.*)

[62] This translation has condensed the meaning for the purposes of rhyme. Another English translation by Guy Davenport (1995) preserves some references that the Russian translation also preserved:

Among the skills of the delicious goddess
It's green to think the holy one's the only.

Here, read Aphrodite for "delicious goddess," and sexual coition for "the holy one."

[63] There is an omission in the original that here is filled in by the context.

[64] That is to say, he wouldn't want intimacy.

my arm round her neck, I comforted
her fear. The fawn soon ceased to flee.
Over her breasts my hands moved gently,
the new-formed girlhood she bared for me,
over all her body, the young skin bare;
I spilt my white force, just touching her yellow hair.

Unfortunately, we do not have either the beginning or end, so we don't know to whom the given fragment is dedicated. The only thing that is clear is that it reflects a dialogue. The author relates the remarks of his participants, entirely as would a Kazakh singer, who conveys the remarks of the participants in an *aitys* ("then this is what she said" and the like). This is why I was so happy to read in Alexander Zaitsev's book about how "the verses of Archilochus, evidently, were also performed in *Agons*"[65] – read: in *aityses*. The situation arises, already familiar to us in the analytical masterpieces of Ivan Ivanovich Tolstoy: "...in this case it is hardly worthwhile to assign ancient Greek sources as explanations for Russian fairytales. Rather, it follows to do the contrary, i.e., to search in Russian folklore for explanations of ancient Greek sources."[66] I would repeat this methodological recommendation, replacing in it only the word "Russian" with "Kazakh" and the word "fairytale" with "song-poetry." The living Kazakh oral-written tradition, with its vibrancy and its typological completeness explains the nature of ancient Greek poetry, which we have only in fragments, and, as in this case, without obvious context. Thanks to Kazakh source material, it becomes possible to advance the hypothesis about the typological affinity of the Archilochus fragment to the genre of the *aitys* in letters. The correspondence between Him and Her, which in time becomes public property, is copied and is performed by others. This genre is in part a written genre, i.e., purely poetic, but does not cease to be, in essence, also an oral genre, and is performed based on the prevailing oral (if it is fitting, quasi-song, improvised) traditions.

In the case of the Kazakh "written *aitys*," we have, in essence, all the stages of composition and development of this genre, which is, at first reading, unique. To be exact, both forms are known to us: first, from oral *aityses* by way of their written commemorations in the tradition, then back into oral form, and secondly, from written *aityses* created through correspondence, once again back into the oral tradition. Gradually, a type of poetics was forged, sustaining the test of both traditions—oral and written. Certainly, the rhythmical basis of Kazakh syllabic versification contributed to this process; however, it is known that ancient Greece also had its own, most persistent system of versification, which also contributed to the stability of poetics in both forms—oral and written. Moreover, we shouldn't forget that a lot of that which has reached us from the ancient world in the written form in fact predominantly tended to be sung (see the publications of Tadeusz Zieliński [Russian: Faddei Zelinsky], Ivan Iv. Tolstoy, Iosif Tronsky, Olga Freidenberg, Miron Kharlap, and many others).

[65] Zaitsev 1985: 154.
[66] Tolstoy 1966: 12.

Nevertheless, in the case of ancient Greek literature we do not have all the stages of the historic-artistic process that are of interest to us, but, on the basis of the law of typological succession, it is right to extrapolate the Kazakh experience onto the ancient Greek experience. In other words, we are right to propose the hypothesis that the poetic fragment presented here reflects one of the stages of manifestation of the love (or matrimony) theme in the *Agon* genre.

This written genre (more precisely, this oral-written genre, which is preserved in the written form) – if you will, the genre of "letters from the amorous front" – is one of the stages of manifestation of the "amorous duel" genre, a favorite since ancient times. During the epoch of Archilochus this genre might have had, and should have had, various and parallel forms: 1) oral, 2) written and 3) written-oral (or, better: oral-written), when a letter recorded the oral tradition and was repeatedly interconnected between the two forms.

We observe here a rare example of the most interesting phenomenon of the "circulation of genres in tradition," an example that is historically very early, but in this case typologically very productive and historically very persistent (and let us also note, until now, practically not studied). Truly, the boundaries of orality and literature (written language) can be maximally transparent on the condition that orality remains strong functionally and cognitively in the culture, such that written language doesn't interfere with it, but supports it. Here we have our own kind of *folkloristics*, whose recording of an oral tradition does not interfere with *folklore*—both varieties of "poetic dueling" are of equal stature in a way: they *flow into each other* without damaging the poetics; you could even say they help each other to be preserved in that poetic form that is most desired and beloved by society. The *aitys*-Agonic form is forged in the river bed of both interconnected traditions.

The Kazakh present-day experience suggests that we should read the ancient Greek texts as chronologically distant, but typologically close in terms of worldview, e.g., the ancient Greek experience can be considered alive in the Kazakh present-day. That which has been preserved helps to reconstruct that which has not been preserved. The living sheds light on the long dead. The fragments of the past find not only form, but also, in their way, a voice, and reveal themselves as signs of a long-ago type of behavior.

Examples of "amorous duels" can easily be multiplied along a whole series of multi-ethnic oral traditions, just as with the genre of the letter-song.[67] However, in this case the issue is not so much one of the genre of poetic duels as such, as one of (a) the traditional nature of the phenomenon of the *written contest* and (b) the traditional nature of this contest's *co-existence* with the oral contest (c) in the context of a culture with a *competitive* nature.

[67] For instance, in the book Slobin 1982: 152-153, there is an example of the Jewish song in Yiddish in the same genre: "songs – 'letters from Russia'" ("A brivele fun rusland," 1912). My gratitude goes to Izaly Zemtsovsky for the kind reference to this example.

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AESTHETICIZED IDEOLOGY IN LAFCADIO HEARN'S "THE SOUL OF THE GREAT BELL" AND "THE TALE OF THE PORCELAIN-GOD"

HYUB LEE

ABSTRACT

Lafcadio Hearn's "The Soul of the Great Bell" and "The Tale of the Porcelain-God" epitomize the aestheticized ideology in pre-modern China. The stories are based on legends about the sacrifice of victims for the realization of emperor's requirement. The emperor is purportedly representative of universe principle, which justifies and reinforces the dogmatic despotism. The aesthetic representations of bell and porcelain are required to conform to the dominant ideology. The magnificent bell to be placed at the center of Peking, the new capital, should resonate sublime sounds evenly reaching one hundred li. Its spatiality symbolizes the centralized imperial power. The Great Unity paradigm has pervaded China since the centralization of the country was required. The amalgamation of various metals fails, which symbolizes struggle between classes undermining the unity paradigm. Through the sacrifice of the mandarin's daughter by rule of five elements, casting is consummated. The vase should embody the conception of flesh subjugated to thought, which implies the intelligent classes' dominance over laboring classes. Pu the master, whose identity is related to Celestial mechanism, sacrifices himself to consummate the vase. He is worshipped, which signals glorifying the absolutely dogmatic ideology. Reflecting the collective consciousness of Chinese people, the author retains a negative viewpoint upon the brutal ways the despotism reinforces dominant structure by controlling the aesthetic representations.
Keywords: aesthetic representation, ideology, China, unity, despotism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Lafcadio Hearn's Oriental stories are not confined to the Japanese tales. Hearn also wrote 6 Chinese stories, which are included in *Some Chinese Ghosts* (1887). Although Hearn scholars have not paid much attention to the work, it is worthy of critical analysis for it shows his early interest in the Orient. According to Paul Murray, Hearn "recognised that the book was a milestone on his own journey to the heart of Asia" (83). Without scrutinizing it, his later works dealing with the Orient, fictional tales or analytical essays, cannot be fully comprehended.

Besides its relation to his later works, the work in itself is significant in that it shows some ways Chinese stuffs were dramatized by a Westerner. The contemporaries also felt it to be exotic, as substantiated by the June 1887 issue of the Atlantic Monthly. As Murray indicates, the magazine called the work "rare flower that has delightful surprise of the exotic" (Murray 82). The 6 stories written during his stay in America are not purely his creations but the revisions of pre-existing Chinese stuffs. As many critics indicate, Hearn reworked Chinese stories. As Elizabeth Stevenson notes, Hearn "was spending his private time on a selection of Chinese tales" (142). Hearn himself remarked that the Chinese stories were "early work of a man who tried to understand the Far East from books" (1923: 100).

It is undeniable that Hearn as an Orientalist revised it from a Western viewpoint, and thus the revision is, at least implicitly, tainted with Western ideas. However, as the stories are fundamentally based on the originally Chinese tales, they inevitably reflect the Chinese culture to some extent. One of their remarkable Chinese traits is the ideological intervention with aesthetic representation. Such traits are conspicuous especially in "The Soul of the Great Bell" and "The Tale of the Porcelain-God." The two stories revolve around the process of making artifacts by emperor's order. I will analyze how the processes are affected by the dominant ideology of ancient Chinese. It is the authoritarian ideology that predominated in the period in which the stories are set. By probing into the ideological influence upon the artwork, the interrelation between politics and aesthetics that has long existed in China can be disclosed.

2. BELL SOUND AS AN INDICATOR OF HEAVEN

"The Soul of the Great Bell," the opening story of book, is most known to public among the 6 tales. Many variations of it, rather than the original text, bear witness to its popularity. There are various retold versions, mainly for children, and even an adapted TV series titled *Curtain Call* produced by NBC in 1952. Some might regard the story as suitable for children due to its stress on filial piety. However, it deserves critical attention for the ideological force underlying the plot. The story can be considered to reflect the Chinese history very profoundly for its legend is based on historical facts. It originates from the casting history of the still existing bell, that is the famous Yongle bell at The Great Bell Temple located on the western outskirts of Beijing. As it was ordered by the emperor Yongle, it came to be called so. In the complicated historic situation in the 15th century, the casting of it was accompanied by controversial issues. Around the discourses in conflict, a legend came to be formed. This legend translated in French became the direct source for Hearn. As Hearn himself notes, his work is based on the French translation of one of collected Chinese stories about filial piety. The collection is titled *Pe-Hiao-Tou-Choue*, meaning 'A Hundred Examples of Filial Piety.'[1] The

[1] See "Notes" in Benfey (63).

French translator Dabry de Thiersant knew Chinese well, and had connections with Chinese literati (Israeli 275). Thus the translation is creditable to a considerable extent in terms of reflecting the authentic Chinese source.

The original source for the story is not lengthy, yet forms the core of it. The other details are Hearn's creations. It is undeniable that there are some differences between historical facts and the recreated story. For example, the actual location of bell is somewhat different from that in the story. However, such minor differences do not suffice to generalize that Hearn wrote the other parts without considering facts of China. On the contrary, the main fictional situations and the ideas underlying them described by Hearn generally match the actual states of China. In this light, Beongcheon Yu remarks that Hearn "is now able to concentrate on developing the materials without sacrificing their ultimate authenticity" (52). Born and educated in the Far Eastern countries, Yu creditably evaluates the authenticity of Chinese stuffs. The details are based on Hearn's extensive study about China, though indirect through other Westerners' writings. As Christopher Benfey notes, "Hearn knew no Chinese. His reliance on French, German, and British Sinologists ... is evident" (832). Frederick Starr also mentions that Hearn was in favor of "ponderous editions of Chinese philosophy" (xvi). It is evident that Hearn had profound knowledge about China. In "Myths and Worships of China" published in *The Times-Democrat* on February 17, 1885, Hearn offers an explanation about the emperors in China.[2] As he explains, the Chinese emperors represented Heaven and exerted absolute power upon all the people within the territory. This is the historical basis upon which Hearn reconstructed the story.

The story revolves around the casting process of bell, which is ordered by an emperor. It is noteworthy for the interrelation between the dominant ideology and aesthetic representation. Although critics generally have paid attention to the filial piety or artistic aspects, such limited viewpoints are problematic in that they fail to reveal its cultural contexts.[3]The bell epitomizes the aestheticized ideology. The authoritarian ideology is the Chinese ideology that predominated in the period in which the bell was cast. I will explore how the ideology operates upon the artifact. And Hearn's perspective on the ideological manipulation will be examined.

The plot is structured upon the process of making a magnificent bell in the Ming dynasty. It begins with the depiction of ringing the great bell placed at the center of Beijing: "the mallet is lifted to smite the lips of the metal monster, — the vast lips inscribed with Buddhist texts from the sacred Fa-hwa-King, from the chapters of the holy Ling-yen-King!" (13). The pervasive power of dominance is foregrounded in its magnificence. The magnificent bell is called the lips of metal monster, which hints at the writer's sarcastic viewpoint upon its magnificence. The reason why it is called so is that the bell, like the Yongle bell, is inscribed with

[2] See Hearn 1939 (113-48).

[3] For example, Yu focuses on the filial piety, while Elizabeth Sevenson regards the story as a "parable about art and artist" (142).

Buddhist texts. Fa-hwa-King supposedly refers to 法華經 and Ling-yen-King to 楞嚴經. As Victoria Cass indicates, Hearn notably "included in the tales transliterations of Chinese syllables" (12). It should be taken into account that Hearn did not have sufficient knowledge of Chinese, especially the pronunciations of Chinese characters, and thus some Chinese sounds might seem slightly different. The Buddhist texts represent the Buddhist ideology that has merged with Confucianism during the Song Dynasty. As part of the dominant ideological system, its role continued into the Ming dynasty when the bell was made. The Buddhist texts inscribed upon the Yongle bell were intended to represent the dominant ideology of China at the time. Especially Yongle was an advocate of Buddhism, as James Watt indicates that "the evidence for Yongle's analytical attachment to Tibetan Buddhism is overwhelming" (14). Thus the Buddhist texts are representative of the emperor's will.

What makes the bell more peculiar, and thus crucially characterizes it is the two words the bell unceasingly resonates.

> Even so the great bell hath sounded every day for wellnigh five hundred years,—*Ko-Ngai*: first with stupendous clang, then with immeasurable moan of gold, then with silver murmuring of "*Hiai!*" And there is not a child in all the many-colored ways of the old Chinese city who does not know the story of the great bell,— who cannot tell you why the great bell says *Ko-Ngai* and *Hiai!* (14-5)

Also spelled same in the French translation, 'Hiai!' seems to be the transliterations of 孝 meaning filial piety. As many critics indicate, Hearn was aware of the significance of filial piety. Hearn succinctly remarks that "[f]ilial piety is the basis of Chinese society" (1939: 134), Ko-Ngai is the name of figure who is associated with filial piety. The reason why the bell sends the signals of her name and filial piety together can be found in tracing its history.

The bell came into existence by an order of the Chinese emperor Yongle, who is called the Son of Heaven. The titles for the Chinese rulers have been mainly associated with Heaven. The reason why the emperor is called so is that the emperor was purported to be representative of universal order. As the ruler is conferred upon the divine position, his order is equated with the universal principle. As Dingxin Zhao remarks, the Mandate of Heaven was conceptualized in order to justify the emperors' governance in the Zhou dynasty.[4] Since then the ideological concept has been employed throughout the history of China to justify the ruling of the Emperors. Especially the Ming Dynasty is known to be most authoritarian throughout the Chinese history, and thus the necessity for the ideological apparatuses was significant. Furthermore, the emperor is Yongle, notorious for his merciless despotism. Yongle pursued the policy of extending territory while suppressing the Southern rebellion. He transferred the capital from Nanjing to Peking, spelled

[4] See Zhao (419).

Beijing now. This can explain why he more needed to emphasize the centrifugal power. This notion can be substantiated by the explanation about it by a Chinese source.

> The story goes that when Emperor Chengzu (his dynastic title, or Yongle as his reign title) moved the capital to Beijing, he initiated three great projects, that is, the Forbidden City, the Temple of Heaven and the Yongle Bell. This attests to the historical position of the Yongle Bell in those days.[5]

The Yongle bell is evidently a main part of his projects aimed at empowering the new capital. In association with the Temple of Heaven, the bell symbolically contributes to justifying the new capital. In such a context, the bell is intended to represent the dogmatic authority of the empire, which is considered to conform to the order of universe. It should serve as a device to represent the absolute power of the emperor, and thus reinforce it. In compatibility with its grand scale, its appearance and sound are required to meet the purpose.[6] The emperor demands that "the voice of the bell should be strengthened with brass, and deepened with gold, and sweetened with silver; and that the face and the great lips of it should be graven with blessed sayings from the sacred books" (16). The emperor requires the bell to ring a certain sound, which bears political implications. In the pre-modern China, the sounds of courtly instruments were not merely neutral but value-laden. The sounds were generally sublime in order to represent the authority of empire. Setting a standard sound as the sound of court means endowing the sound with an authority. It further implies setting a standard of rules governing people. As the bell was ordered by the emperor, its sound set by the standard of empire represents the order of emperor. The visual representation of the bell is also in alliance with the ideological implications of sound. The reason why the bell "should be graven with blessed sayings from the sacred books" (16) is that the authority of empire is built upon the dominant discourse in the form of canons.

And the spatiality of the sound also bears political implications. The emperor demands that the bell "should be suspended in the centre of the imperial capital" (16-7), that is Pe-king. The centralized position at which the bell is to be placed symbolizes the centralized imperial power. As Peking became the new capital by the order of Yongle, a new symbol declaring the new capital as the center of empire pursuing the extension was necessitated. The way the bell sound spreads symbolizes the way the imperial power is exerted in extension.

It is intended to be not only symbolic of the centripetal power but also functional. For its sound can presumably reach 100 *li* away and thus be heard

[5] See [Anon.] ("The World-famous Yongle Bell"). The website run by a Chinese organization offers more articles related to the Yongle bell.

[6] One of the distinguished traits of the Yongle style was a grand scale. As Watt indicates, "the matter of scale must be taken into account. Every project that the emperor instigated...was on a scale larger than anything undertaken for centuries after him and, indeed, rarely seen in all of Chinese history" (22).

throughout the capital. One hundred *li* is physically around 40 km. But in the given context, it may imply anywhere, as the number 100 often symbolizes entirety in the Chinese culture. The bell's sound resonating throughout the capital implies that the power of emperor is exerted ubiquitously throughout the realm of sovereignty. "[A]ll the many-colored ways of the City of Pe-king" (17) through which the bell sound is expected to resonate encompasses all the varied ranks of citizens. Colors in the Chinese culture are not merely visual, but represent states of materials, and further human conditions.

The ideology of unity underlies the way the bell's sound spreads in the capital. Prasenjit Duara suggests that the quest for unity was mostly a production of traditional imperial historiography.[7] The Great Unity paradigm has pervaded China since the centralization of the country was required. Yuri Pines argues that "the Great Unity paradigm was not an outcome of, but rather a precondition for the imperial unification of 221 BCE" (282). This notion was pervasive also during the time of Yongle. For the sound to genuinely represent the principle of unity, the bell in itself as well as its sound should embody the principle. Its material state should realize the principle. It was an accepted conception that there is a correlation between the sound and the state of materials. The correlation of materials is the microcosm of universal order. To generate the unifying sound, metal components should be combined in balance. Such a sound is not a mere sound but a representation of harmonious combination, that is the universal order. As Brindley indicates, there was a belief that "proper souls "proper music – and hence, proper sounds – typify an ideal state of cosmic functioning" (73). This is why the Son of Heaven requires that the heterogeneous metals be harmoniously infused into the bell.

The implications of unity principle are extended to the realm of politics in the process of fusion. The harmonious combination of heterogeneous materials implies the correlation not only of material correlation but also Chinese people. To successfully forge the bell, the various metals should be fused into one. However, at the first casting, "the metals had rebelled one against the other, the gold had scorned alliance with the brass, the silver would not mingle with the molten iron" (18). The failure of infusing them implies not merely a technical failure. The reason why the word "rebelled" was used is that the writer intended to imply the struggle between humans. As the metals are personified, the metals stand for the social classes, from higher ones to lower ones. Among the metals, the gold is the highest and the iron the lowest. That they did not fuse into one but "rebelled against the other" implies the struggle between the classes. Therefore, the failure of infusion implies the failure of consolidating social classes into a unified state. The workers try to overcome the difficulty repeatedly in vain: "Still the metals obstinately refused to blend one with the other; and there was no uniformity in the bell, and the sides of it were cracked and fissured, and the lips of it were slugged and split

[7] See "Provincial Narratives of the Nation: Federalism and Centralism in Modern China," in Duara (184).

asunder" (18). What crucially lacks is the uniformity. The cracks and fissures on the sides symbolize the outbreak of rift between classes. The lack of uniformity violates the Great Unity Paradigm. It signals a challenge to the totalitarian empirical system whose predominating rule is unity.

It is not surprising that the Son of Heaven gets infuriated, for it has the implications of refusing the unity as well as the failure itself. To urge him to complete it, the emperor sends a letter proclaiming that Kouan-Yu be executed if he fails trice. This quagmire is resolved by Ko-Ngai the daughter of Kouan-Yu. Seeing her father worried about it, she consults an astrologer in order to find a way to resolve the problem. According to David W. Pankenier, in the ancient China "there was already firmly established a mindset characterized by a self-conscious dependence on regularly scrutinizing the sky for guidance" (193). In this light, the astrologer examines "the signs of the Zodiac – the Hwang-tao, or Yellow Road – and consulted the table of the Five Hin, or Principles of the Universe, and the mystical books of the alchemists" (21). The astrologer's examination of the celestial structure manifests the tenet that established the interrelation between cosmology and the correlation of materials, further the sound resonating from the ingredient materials ultimately. The astrologer explains that, in the order of universe, gold and brass, and silver and iron cannot be infused without the blood of a maiden. The sacrifice of a young female is a prerequisite for the realization of the emperor's order.

What the astrologer bases his judgment on is the Five Hin, which is often referred to as Five Elemental Phases. It is a conceptual scheme that has been conventionally used to explain a wide range of phenomena in universe. The Five Elemental Phases consist of Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water. The five elements interact with each other. Their interrelation is characterized by mutual production or mutual overcoming. The relation of mutual generation is admirable, while that of mutual destruction should be avoided. Pankenier explains that "the "mutual production" order of elemental phases... stood on firmer ground as an interpretive scheme" (210). Human body as a material in the universe is also in the matrix of this system. This is why the infusion of female body is suggested.

Requiring the sacrifice of woman seems absurd, at least in terms of morality or humanitarian values. However, she does not dismiss it, for it is considered to conform to the order of universe. As Ko-Ngai cannot find other way of solution, she cannot but follow the suggestion. Ko-Ngai sacrifices herself by immersing herself into the boiling metals in the furnace. The Five Hin universalizes and thus justifies the sacrifice of people for the rule of the emperor. The sacrifice does not undermine the imperial authority but reinforces it by equating the emperor's order with the rule of universe. Thus there is "the conception of the relationship between society and cosmos as one between microcosm and macrocosm" (Pankeiner 232).

It can be observed that the Five Hin functions as a political instrument. As the theory is applicable to any kinds of phenomena, it was used to explain political situations as well as medicine and martial arts. Tien-Rein Lee succinctly mentions

that "the Five-Elements-Theory was integrated with political principles, marking the first trial of combining religious and secular thinking" (156).

The sound resulting from the sacrifice satisfies the expectation, for the incorporation of female blood satiates the required combination in the scheme of Five Hin. The correlation between the sound and Five Hin means the co-relation between the sound and cosmic condition. According to Erica Fox Brindley, in China sound "served as a primary indicator of cosmic conditions, helping divine and designate how things will interact with each other. Sound also served as a cosmic agent, helping bring about and enhance order in the political sphere and natural world" (64). There was "a belief in sound as an indicator of cosmic conditions" (Brindley 74).

The bell sound, from such a dogmatic perspective, can be interpreted as conforming to the dominant ideas. However, the sound is not merely monolithic but complicated, for it is heard like Ko-Ngai and Hiai in a poignant mood. The sound is comparable to "some vast voice uttering a name, a woman's name, the name of Ko-Ngai!" Besides this, "between each mighty stroke there is a long low moaning heard; and ever the moaning ends with a sound of sobbing and of complaining, as though a weeping woman should murmur, *Hiai!*" (27). This detailed depiction is different from the simple French translation. In the French version, the sound *Hiai* reminds people of Ko-Ngai, yet there is no sound of Ko-Ngai in itself. The deliberately added parts by Hearn reflect his own emotional response to her act. He wants to give a voice to her name. The sound *Hiai* in the French version sufficiently reflects the collective consciousness of Chinese people. Feeling sorrow for her sacrifice, they mourn and commemorate her. They express reverence for her act of filial piety. In a sense, the dramatization of her sacrifice sardonically allegorizes the Chinese system in which both crisis of family and class rift is sealed by female sacrifice. The awareness of female sacrifice in both family and country systems took a form of legend implicitly criticizing despotism.

Sympathetic with the mourning mood, Hearn wants to emphasize his own feeling of pity for her. Being physically weak, Hearn himself had tendency to pity weak ones since childhood. In "The Prose of Small Things," Hearn emphasizes pity in relation to Chinese idea.

> ... old Chinese prophecy about the future of literature certainly startles us by its truth. That is the tendency of the best thought and the best feeling of this literary age in the West. The literature of the future will be the literature of pity – pity in the old Roman sense, and in the old Greek sense, which did not mean contempt mixed with pity, but pure sympathy with all forms of human suffering. (128)

This essay was written in retrospect of his former writing. In association with the Chinese thought, he privileges pity. He emphasizes sympathy for human suffering. Although Hearn is generally criticized for his acceptance of the political system in the Orient, he seems to be antipathic to the cruelty of the emperor's governance.

From the detailed depiction of the dismal mood when the bell rings, Hearn's viewpoint can be conjectured:

> All the little dragons on the high-tilted eaves of the green roofs shiver to the tips of their gilded tails under that deep wave of sound; all the porcelain gargoyles tremble on their carven perches; all the hundred little bells of the pagodas quiver with desire to speak. *KO-NGAI!*—all the green-and-gold tiles of the temple are vibrating; the wooden goldfish above them are writhing against the sky; the uplifted finger of Fo shakes high over the heads of the worshippers through the blue fog of incense! *KO-NGAI!* What a thunder tone was that! All the lacquered goblins on the palace cornices wriggle their fire-colored tongues! (13-4)

The objects like dragons, gargoyles, small bells, tiles and goldfish are the aestheticized decorations of dominant ideology. They are depicted as if horrified or agonized under the force of the overwhelming sound representing the absolute power of emperor. By depicting the objects in such a state, the writer satirizes the Oriental despotism. Hearn expresses his antipathy to the despotism.

Also in his added depiction of Chinese mothers' response to the bell sound, his viewpoint can be deciphered. In the ending, the Chinese mothers in Beijing whisper to their children, "Listen! that is Ko-Ngai crying for her shoe! That is Ko-Ngai calling for her shoe!" (27). The reason why the mothers say secretly is that they are afraid of revealing their pity for her, which might be regarded as antipathy to the despotism.

3. VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF CONFORMITY TO DOMINANT IDEOLOGY

"The Tale of the Porcelain-God" is also engaged with the interrelation between art work and ideology. In parallel to the bell story, it deals with a sacrifice of one for the realization of an artwork ordered by an emperor. The artwork ordered by the absolute ruler called Celestial and August in this occasion is a porcelain. And the sacrificed one is the best expert on porcelain.

To historically contextualize the ideologized aesthetics, its origin needs to be retraced. As the last of six stories, the tale is based on one of letters by Père d'Entrecolles, an expert on Chinese porcelain. In the letter, he gave a brief explanation about a legend of so called porcelain god.

> It is related that once upon a time a certain Emperor insisted that some porcelains should be made for him according to a model which he gave. It was answered that the thing was simply impossible; but all such remonstrance only served to excite his desire more and more... The officers charged by the demigod to supervise and hasten the work treated the workmen with great harshness. The poor wretches spent all their money, took exceeding pains, and received only blows in return. One of them, in a fit of despair, leaped into the blazing furnace, and was instantly burnt to ashes. But the porcelain that was being baked there at the time came out, they say, perfectly beautiful and to the satisfaction of the Emperor... From that time, the unfortunate workman was regarded as a hero; and his image was made the idol which presides over the manufacture of porcelain. (65)

Père d'Entrecolles could get this source, as he went to China and observed the process of producing porcelain, learning techniques. While staying there, he might have heard the well-known legend of one who had been revered as a

porcelain god. Thus his writing is fundamentally based on an originally Chinese stuff. The outline in general is considerably known in the Orient, as Yu remarks that "motif itself is very commonplace in the Far East" (54). According to Martie J. Geiger-Ho, the legend seems to be one of variations of Feng Huo Hsien myth (5). As Rose Ker & Nigel Wood note, Feng Huo Hsien is the transliteration of 風火仙. Each word respectively means wind, fire and deity, thus he is a sort of deity of fire blast. He is called so as he is "a heroic potter who saved his fellow workers from the harsh punishment of an unreasonable despot and who then was later deified as a kiln god for his actions" (Geiger-Ho 5). Thus he is identical to the workman who sacrificed himself in the version above.

What is more intriguing is that the Feng Huo Hsien myth is considered to be based on an actual event. According to Thang, the man who came to be worshipped had been surnamed Tung 董. In the Wan-Li reign period of the Ming dynasty he sacrificed himself for fellow workmen. An ordered work in a kiln had repeatedly failed, and eunuch officials had punished the workmen. Tung threw himself into the kiln, and the work was completed. His fellow workers built a temple dedicated to the "deity of fire blast" that is Feng Huo Hsien (Rose Ker & Nigel Wood 206). Actually there is a temple with the statue of Feng Huo Hsien at the ancient kiln site in Jingdezhen in China. Jingdezhen is a city most renowned for porcelain in China. As for the legacy of Feng Huo Hsien, Geiger-Ho contemplates:

> that this story is grounded in real-life events that may have led to the deification of a mortal Chinese potter. The importance of the myth of Feng Huo Hsien as part of the religious history of Jingdezhen has undoubtedly helped to keep this myth alive and intact in its place of origin in Jingdezhen, China. (4)

What matters is that he has been worshipped for a long time. The tragic death could be transformed into the legend, as it received sympathetic responses from common people suffering from the harsh despotism. Such a death reflects at least the living condition given to the oppressed people under absolute despotism. The collective consciousness of Chinese people is arguably reflected on the legend. With this notion, I will advance my argument.

The similarities of the tale to the former story can be found especially in construction as well as theme. The tale commences with the explanatory remarks upon the protagonist who is now dead. He is introduced as the first one who "discovered the secret of the *Kao-ling*, of the *Pe-tun-tse*, the bones and the flesh, the skeleton and the skin, of the beauteous Vase" (145). He made porcelain a divine art. For this reason, "Unto Pu, once a man, now a god, before whose snowy statues bow the myriad populations enrolled in the guilds of the potteries" (145-6). Having sacrificed himself, Pu is now revered as a god-like being posthumously.

The identity of Pu as the artisan is deeply related to the celestial structure. Pu is considered "astrologer who had discovered the mystery of those Five Hing which influence all things, those Powers that move even in the currents of the star-drift, in the milky *Tien-ho*, or River of the Sky" (157). His ability as an artisan is considered to

be related to the capacity to perceive the mechanism of Five Hin. Considering that porcelain as a combination of materials in itself reflects Five Hin, it is not surprising that Pu's ability is associated with Five Hin. For Five Hin is related to the interaction between materials, inclusive of the celestial movement. It can be said that he "was born destined by the Master of Heaven to become the Porcelain-God" (147). It was from his formative age that he was related the principle of Heaven. He "grew to be a great artist by dint of tireless study and patience and by the inspiration of Heaven" (156). Artistic inspiration is given by the universal order. An artist is a person who materializes universal order. He serves as an agent to represent the universal mechanism.

Like the former story, what triggers the tragic end of the protagonist is the emperor's order. The emperor is frequently called Celestial and August in the work. The appellation emphasizes the emperor's representativeness of cosmic order, and thus the subsequent divination and absolute empowerment of ruler. The emperor has an occasion to receive a porcelain work from Pu. There is a description of the splendid vase: "a vase imitating the substance of ore-rock, all aflame with pyritic scintillation, a shape of glittering splendor with chameleons sprawling over it; chameleons of porcelain that shifted color as often as the beholder changed his position" (158). Beholding the change of colors, the emperor wonders about its splendor for some reason, and summons Pu. The Celestial and August orders Pu to make "a vase having the tint and the aspect of living flesh." There is a further requirement for the flesh-like quality. It should display the quality "of flesh made to creep by the utterance of such words as poets utter, flesh moved by an Idea, flesh horripilated by a Thought!" (159). It is certain that the emperor was impressed by the vase. But he is not merely fascinated by it, but unsatisfied at its appearance. Thus he requires that the porcelain be rendered in conformity to the predominating conception. The poets' words represent not merely literary phrases but the dominant ideology that is constructed upon the literary culture. In China, literature was deeply related to the intelligent classes.

There is raised a doubt to his motivation for ordering with such a requirement, which is hardly realizable. The reason why he orders so weirdly is that he wants to examine whether his craft follows the dominant ideology represented by god. As revealed in the ending part, he wants to test Pu. Later he says, "we sought only to know whether the skill of the matchless artificer came from the Divinities or from the Demons, from heaven or from hell" (173). For this reason, he was worried whether Pu's artwork might threaten the dominant ideology represented by divinity. The reason why he felt so might be the change of colors. The emperor as the representative figure of cosmic order, has the notion of color in the frame of Five Hin. As for the change of colors, he has the doubt whether such a change signals the undermining of the cosmic order. With such an anxiety, the emperor gets preoccupied with the desire to control the aesthetic expression under the principle of dominant ideology.

The reason why he felt the anxiety about the changeability of color is that colors in themselves are the indicators of the order of Five Hin. The five elements

consist of Water, Metal, Fire, Earth and Wood. "Each of the elements is associated with one of the five colors: Black (water), White (Metal), Blue-Green (Wood), Red (Fire) and Yellow (Earth)" (Lee 156). Thus the colors can represent material states:

> By definition of the Five Elements, color is introduced as a central means to identify all existing phenomena. As a decisive factor of differentiation, color helps to define distinctive qualities of matter according to the five elements. Color thereby reflects assumed qualities which are assumed to be inherent to matter. (Lee 156-7)

So the colors are related to the ruling principle of universe. The changeability of color might imply the instability of universal order, which might threaten the existing hierarchy.

In order to test whether Pu's work conforms to the dominant tenet or not, he requires the vase display aesthetic traits in conformity with the dominant ideology. The "flesh moved by an Idea, flesh horripilated by a Thought" implies body subordinated to the contemporary dominant ideology of China. The subordination of flesh to idea or thought symbolizes the subjugation of body to mind. The notion of mind privileged against body is not purely philosophical idea but ideologized one. It symbolizes the social structure in which the intelligent classes govern the lower laboring classes. The vase as an objectified material should visually reflect and thus reinforce the dominant structure, in which laboring workers obey high class with intellect.

Like Kouan-Yu, Pu comes to be faced with an immense difficulty in rendering the porcelain in the ordered condition. The way to resolve the quagmire is similar to that of Ko-Ngai. Pu resorts to the mainstream ideas. He asks the Spirit of Fire, and it answers in the end, "Canst thou divide a Soul? Nay!... Thy life for the life of thy work! Thy soul for the soul of thy Vase!" (169). He recognizes that his soul should be united with the vase. This means that his soul should be identified with the idea that the emperor required the base have. That is the subordination to the idea represented by the words of poets. In order to be identified with the vase, his life should be infused with the vase. Unlike Ko-Ngai, he cannot be contained in the vase itself. Instead, he becomes a part of fire that heats the vase. Without the sacrifice of human, the vase cannot be complemented. To enact the resolution suggested by the Spirit, Pu puts himself into the fire for the realization of order by the emperor. Through the sacrifice of Pu, the vase is created. What the emperor required is actually the absolute subordination of Pu to the emperor's authority.

There is the depiction of the completed vase that satiates the emperor's requirement:

> the Vase lived as they looked upon it: seeming to be flesh moved by the utterance of a Word, creeping to the titillation of a Thought. And whenever tapped by the finger it uttered a voice and a name,—the voice of its maker, the name of its creator: PU. (172)

The vitality of the vase is the result of his sacrifice. His vitality was transposed into that of vase. The vase is the embodiment of subjugating the ruled to the will of

ruler. It is aesthetically representative of the dominant order. Besides this ideological representation, the vase has many similarities to the bell. Like the bell, it resonates the sound of the victim. This depiction is not original but Hearn's creation. He deliberately equates the vase with the bell.

The emperor's response to it is also intriguing. The emperor ordains "fair statues of him should be set up in all the cities of the Celestial Empire". Peripherally, building his statues might seem to be an expression of reverence for Pu. Cherishing the sacrifice of Pu, however, bears the implications of glorifying the absolutely dogmatic ideology. Setting up the statues in all the cities is homogenizing the ideological power. It has the same effect as the bell sound heard throughout the country. This ending is also purely Hearn's creation. It seems that he regarded the quintessential of the original legend is identical. It is the sacrifice of artist for the ideological empowerment.

4. CONCLUSION

By probing into the stories, we could perceive that there was the interrelation between the aesthetics and politics in ancient China. Hearn recreated the original stories with the notion of the absolute power's dominance over aesthetic representations. He grasped the interrelation between politics and arts that underlies the originally Chinese legends. Based on his interpretation of the original sources and knowledge of a wide range of the Chinese culture, he successfully sheds light on the brutal ways the dominant power controls the representations of image and sound.

What we need to further examine is the way to evaluate it. The viewpoint from which Hearn interprets and appropriates the Chinese tales needs to be scrutinized. Hearn's viewpoint gets clarified in his responses to the endings. We can see his negative viewpoint upon the poignant sacrifices. It is a moral judgment upon the sacrifice and monarch system in which the tragic deaths occurred. His judgment is not merely an individual one, for his thought was formulated in the Western culture. The stories exemplify one way a Westerner interpreted Chinese stories, the Chinese culture in a larger context. It can be conjectured from the narrator's tone and mood that the destinies of them were rather shocking to Hearn. Hearn seems to be antipathic to the Oriental monarch system brutally sacrificing common people. This is why Hearn as the narrator takes a sympathetic tone for her death, and equates the vase with the bell by deliberately adding the subsequent situation brought on by the completed vase. Though his viewpoint at the time can be considered West-centered to some extent, his judgment can be evaluated as acceptable from an ethical viewpoint at present. In conclusion, the work exemplifies the inevitable cultural differences in ways of seeing a certain event.[8]

[8] This study was supported by research fund from Chosun University, 2017.

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MULTIPLE CULTURAL CODES AND THE GENESIS OF MODERNITY IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

VICTOR NEUMANN, ARMIN HEINEN

ABSTRACT

Contact with the West more intensely confirmed Central and South-Eastern Europe's capability to modernize – and challenged it at the same time. The outcome of these positive and frustrating experiences were contradictory perceptions of and approaches to modernity. It has become obvious that by studying modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe we need to leverage different approaches: comparison, study of cultural transfer and analyses of entangled history. Finally, the history of Central and South-Eastern Europe may be analysed as paradigmatic for the social realities of today. It enables a closer look at the adoption of Western concepts, at the same time it allows to observe the development of quite distinctive interpretations and strategies of modernization. What we had in mind was a study of cultural plurality and an analysis of the multiple codes of identity construction in Central and South-Eastern Europe during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. In fact, we believe that a renewal of the historical discourse on Central and South-Eastern Europe will be possible by the transfer and adaptation of Koselleck's and "post-Koselleckian" approaches, thus enriching and widening the scope of historiography.

Keywords: Europe, Central and South-Eastern Europe, historiography, Enlightenment, modernity, anti-modernity, identity, multiculturality, diversity, continuity, discontinuity, Romantism, ethno-nation, Volksgeist, nation, nation-state, national discourse, cultural transfer, postcolonial perspective, emancipation, intelligentsia.

The genesis of modernity is profoundly affected by contradictions about identity. It was during the Renaissance that the existence of the medieval nation of noblemen, princes, kings and emperors was questioned for the first time. The notion of the political nation rose in the time between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Such a desire to build a new state or political entity – one and the same for all individuals and citizens – gained credibility in the context of scientific innovations, new philosophical theories and the liberation of certain social groups from medieval serfdom. The revolutions taking place in the Low Countries (present-day Benelux), England and France were the result of such a conceptual twist. They led the way towards re-thinking of the "state" in terms of individual

culture and civil society. Against the backdrop of great geographical discoveries, church reforms and the acceptance of religious pluralism, the humanistic enlightened circles bear evidence to the fact that the old intellectual meanings and social-political hierarchies are unacceptable.

The various professional and ideological groups triggered the transformation of the confessional, aristocratic, royal or imperial nation into a *civil and political nation*. It was a long-term process. First, it had been accepted in Western Europe by several princely and royal families as a result of the revolutions targeted against absolute politics. On some occasions, it stemmed from the multiplication of organized groups, intellectual initiatives and administrative reforms. The set of ideas put forward by the Enlightenment encouraged individual freedoms, social emancipation, citizenship and civil rights[1]. The sciences, especially the political and legal philosophy of such thinkers as Locke, Hobbes, Montesquieu and Voltaire, challenged the established opinions and led to a paradigmatic change.

In Central and South-Eastern Europe, placed under the domination of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, the cultural basis for a political nation emerged much later than in Western Europe. In fact, it had been virtually nonexistent until the late 18th century. Despite significant differences, these regions had their own elites who found inspiration in the Western ideas of the Enlightenment. These ideas grew more particular in terms of a desire of liberation from medieval constraints, as well as the granting of identity based on a community's language and history. These were the first signs of the notion of *cultural nation*, which stands out with its themes, origin, community continuity, and territory it inhabits and claims to the detriment of the other (usually, the neighbour). Religious consciousness plays an important role in the life of this community type. This does not include, though, the civil religion – as referred to by Rousseau and his like-minded contemporaries – that is, the religion of the citizens or the individual citizen.

The early conceptualizing of this identity renewal – a landmark in the entire Central and South-Eastern European area – took place in the 1800s in the German-speaking regions[2], later spreading to Austria, the Czech Lands, Hungary, Poland, Croatia, and present-day Romanian regions of Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina. The genesis of the cultural nation in Romanians, Hungarians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks did not go against the plurilingual and multicultural realities of Central European provinces. On the contrary, it continued, for decades, to empower and legitimate social-cultural and institutional modernization by means of Vienna-based imperial administration. Emperor Joseph II's reforms and the Josephinist model trend they produced led to changes in technological progress and industrialization, as well as in the distinction between social interests and hierarchies. However, a crisis in the culture of identity followed. The ambivalences produced by an

[1] For the comparative history of the concept of citizenship, see Riedel 2004.

[2] See, for example, an explanation for the discontinuities generated by modernity in German thought, in Löwith 1995.

awareness of imperial identity, on the one hand, and by the notion of belonging to a cultural nation, on the other, were accepted for a long time. The aforementioned plurilingual and multicultural realities are evidence of a conjunction of purpose in the context of shared statehood.

Such are the grounds of social plurality on which the first conceptualizations of modernity are conceived in the intellectual milieus of Central and South-Eastern Europe. In the 19th century, Austria, Hungary and the marginal regions of the Empire represented such a form of modernity in comparison with the West. For example, the cities of Vienna, Buda/Ofen, Prague, Bratislava/Pressburg, Krakow, Zagreb/Agram, Cernăuți/Czernowitz, Novi-Sad/Neusatz, Timișoara/Temeswar had witnessed a diversity of populations, languages and cultures of unimaginable heterogeneousness (half of which generated by the social specificities of the area, half secured by the imperial administration and mentality) as well as multiple identity. They all contributed later to what we call the modernity of the area. Older and more recent experts define it as traditions passed from one generation to another. There was an amalgamation of cultures leading into an "Austrian German Culture" promoted not at least by the Jewish community; there were social milieus which stood out with their technical achievements first and foremost, but also with music (especially operetta), theatre, literature, visual arts and architecture, with their outstanding figures, the first to practice pluralism.

The result of this was a gradual awareness of a multiple cultural code of mentalities. Such a world view can be found in thinkers ranging from Hermann Bahr to Moritz Csáky. If in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century the Austrian Empire had founded the plurilingual and intercultural institutions, after 1867, the symbol of the double-headed eagle – standing for the ideology of Austrian-ness – secured the continuity and stability of this line of thought. It must be also conceded that the empire, later known as the dualist monarchy, had a clear justification of its own for the preservation of the huge state machine, given that intellectual reflections on modernity were confused. For example, in the years preceding the 1848 conflicts, their options indicated kinship with either the enlightened reasoning or the revolutionary romantic mystics. The discontinuity or gap in the received line of thought produced by the *Sturm und Drang* trend went unnoticed, so that the meaning of the change, of the transition to modernity, was hardly comparable to the process having taken place in Western societies. The sender-receiver relationship – if effective – was not always ideal. In a society not emancipated enough, in a state of civil and political ignorance, the changes occurred in a bottom-up manner. In their desire to join the modern world's thinking, the Central European intellectuals skipped several steps. This explains the failure of the revolutions of 1848 and later.

As for South-Eastern Europe, documents dating from the first half of the 19th century reveal an impulse to modernity comparable to that of Central Europe: the importance of change, interest in new laws and regulations, progress in education and formation and development of the elites. What singles out this area – for

example, Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia and Greece – is the modernization under the influence of a whole multitude of different cultures: Turkish, Slavic-Russian, French, Prussian-German and Austrian. Each of them had an impact in the South-Eastern European regions. This resulted not only in their position, sandwiched between the East and West, but also in the mix of cultures and civilizations, a sense of double belonging. The case of the Danube principalities is not singular, but it is symptomatic because of the ambivalent meaning conveyed to the concept of modernity during the Phanariot rule, but also under native leaders[3]. Despite their Western orientation, these societies indulged in a provisional institutional state – in contradictory alliances, domestic disputes and arrangements intermediated by foreign diplomatic relations. The proneness to corruption and abuse is explained by the prolonged Ottoman domination, but also stems from inadequate local observance of administration, the result of social discrepancies and absence of the middle class and civil culture. In such a framework, the genesis of the cultural nation cannot replace the *political nation*.

The present volume contains the proceedings of an international conference held in Timişoara on 8-11 October 2014. Scholars from neighbouring countries and Germany met to discuss the conceptualization of modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe – the views of which were quite varied depending on time, region, and politics. Organized by the Centre of Advanced Studies in History at the University of Timişoara and the History Institute at RWTH Aachen University, the conference revealed the scholars' concern for reflecting modernity and identities from an interdisciplinary perspective. The texts, whose relevance is discussed by the celebrated historian Hans-Erich Boedeker, demonstrate the importance of conceptual history and the history of concepts, integrating sociological and political approaches, thereby contributing to a critical understanding of old and new social-political languages.

According to Boedeker, until the 1960s and 1970s, modernization was only discussed by sociologists. Historiography directed its interest to it only when simultaneously three preconditions were met: First, the modern age became distinguishable as a separate epoch; second, the modern age no longer seemed like a primordial process but a societal order interpreted and created by people; and third, a closer view on the global dimension of the modern age pointed to its many national, regional and local patterns, and thus it set historiography alongside sociology. One can distinguish between three phases of modernity (1770-80, 1880-1900, 1970-2000 and onward) that indicate different impulses of modernity, cultural adaptations and resistance. According to Shmuel Eisenstadt, there are multiple modernities. Metaphorically speaking we get a puzzling, colourful picture of the modern world, characterized by the coexistence, superimposition, and selective adoption of modernity. Moreover, it is historiography that is able to describe the colourful landscape in a picturesque way.

[3] For examples, see Vintilă-Ghițulescu 2013: 334.

If we were to characterize traditionalism, modernism and anti-modernism in a few terms, we could argue the following: Traditionalism emphasizes the wisdom of an inherited order, religious bindings and traditional hierarchy. Modernism stresses the chances of progress by self-emancipation and rationality, contract and society. Anti-modernism is on emotionality, charismatic bond, and community. Anti-modernism[4] also might thus be defined as a palingenetic endeavour to set up a new (=modern) natural order. With this attitude, it actually jumps out of history or at least does not conceptualize history as a linear process. Four phases of anti-modernism may be distinguished: (1) Prior to 1918, the breakthrough of mass politics led to a new anti-western, anti-elitist and anti-institutionalist rhetoric. However, still it often could be linked to some elements of liberalism. (2) After 1918, the discourse radicalized: (a) The West lost its former nimbus, while even Western intellectuals looked to the East. (b) The shift away from pure reason to the resurgence of "religion" in the West strengthened in Central and South-Eastern Europe the search for a mythical foundation of its own culture. Even more, "in the interwar period one can find at least three different groups with markedly divergent experiences and horizons of expectations: those maturing during and immediately after the Great War, often opting for some sort of ethnic nationalism; the anti-political generation of the late-1920s, which became politicized in the 1930s; and the last group, emerging in the context of the two extreme ideologies, Stalinism and Nazism, in the late-1930s." With this the high time of Central and South-East European anti-modernism vanished, though, (3) during communism, some of the anti-modernist themes re-emerged. Moreover, (4) after 1989, a new search for identity persuaded many intellectuals to look back to the 1920s and 1930s.

The following article by Armin Heinen refers in many respects to the reflections of Hans-Erich Boedeker. For instance in the case of Germany, the author shows how historians there conceived of their research as a contribution to the nation's future, and thus how their approach proved to be inept in appropriately addressing the social conflicts of the past and present. In our context, the focus is on the fact that the study applies in the same way to Romania and its historiography. That is why German and Romanian historiographies currently face similar challenges: to describe the past as something strange and foreign, thus conveying the competencies for an increasingly complex, multicultural society.

The second article by Armin Heinen addresses the changes in usage of time in Western Europe during the course of nearly 1000 years. The principal argument leads to the conclusion that the modernization of time usage needs time itself and is part of a long, ongoing process of cultural modernization. In comparing the present Western time-structure to Romania's – having a postmodern imprint – a closer look reveals two completely different socio-political bases to "post-modernism".

The main part of the volume starts with an article by Victor Neumann. While Heinen stresses the importance of a comparison between East and West, Neumann's

[4] *Introduction. Approaching Anti-modernism*, in Mishkova–Turda–Balázs 2014: 1-44.

approach concentrates on cultural transfer, thus stressing the interrelation between West and East and the adaptation of West-European concepts into the Central European and South-Eastern European context. According to Neumann, Koselleck has oriented himself all too much towards Western Europe and has paid too little attention to the semantic shifts caused by transfer and translation into other cultural contexts. Consequently, Koselleck has opposed absolutism to the Enlightenment much too strongly and, at the same time, has insufficiently separated the Enlightenment from Romanticism. However, in Transylvania, it was the enlightened absolutism – Vienna's insistence on "rational administration" – that brought the modern age into the forefront, Neumann argues. As an imperial state, the Habsburg Empire could interact very well with various forms of individualism and diversity. However, it has been Herder's romantic, anti-imperial concept of the *ethno-nation/Volksgeist* that triumphed in Transylvania and thus acquired a meaning directly addressed against the cultural diversity of the region.

Paschalis Kitromilides reminds the reader of the common roots of Enlightenment and nationalism, though at first glance both concepts seem to be contradictory. However, it was Rousseau's idea of the nation as emanation of a community able to find its way by self-determination, and the fascination by Herder of the diversity of man, people and mankind, "thus of nations", which infused enlightenment with ideas of a more collective approach. However, "it took the cataclysmic political and social changes associated with the French Revolution" and Napoleon "to bring about the transition from the culture of the Enlightenment to that of romantic nationalism". In most parts beyond Northwest Europe, Enlightenment and Romanticism were not opposed to each other but coincided reflecting the mobilizing effect of the French Revolution. This trans-formative coincidence resulted in a different view on politics circa 1800. Enlightenment emphasized self-emancipation by reasonable arguing. The new romantic approach aimed at a collective "liberation", a political response appealing to the masses. To this end, it needed new forms of communication, new forms of articulation likewise filling the moral gap, which was created by enlightened secularization. As Kitromilides argues, Greece represents a good example for this fluent change from a more enlightened to a more romantic form of nationalism with 1830 as its turning point.

Mihai Chioveanu reveals how the Phanariot rule in Moldavia and Wallachia has been interpreted more and more as "foreign" and "imposed". Moreover, this characterization has been maintained up to the present day. In his essay, he tries to show the reasons behind this long ongoing myth. He starts noticing that cultural affiliation in the 17th and 18th centuries received a new significance. Apparently, at the time, "the light" was coming from the "progressive" West, and no longer from the East. For this reason, local criticism of the Phanariots – Greek, but Christian rulers, themselves modernizing princes – has been expressed in the radical language of the Enlightenment. Even the Orthodox Church had to renounce its stance of keeping a distance, as had been up to that point, towards the West. What initially meant

nothing more than a new linguistic coding of the old power struggle between boyars and rulers, now had new meaning by reference to foreign rule forced from outside. It was said to compromise righteous rule and overthrow the principalities into economic ruin. Perhaps the accusations would have lost relevance, if Western travellers, perhaps too quickly without verification, would have taken the judgment as granted, thus imprinting their own image of the country and reporting on it in a quasi- postcolonial perspective: an outstanding landscape, good people, but bad and foreign rulers who destroy everything! In this way, the foreign travellers taught the people that they were a nation. At the same time, young intellectuals of Greek origin, living in the principalities, rebelled against the old Byzantium and the old Phanariot regime. Consequently, three different discourses coined an ever-stronger anti-Phanariot rhetoric: (1) the "enlightened" boyars who rebelled against rulers trying to implement modernization; (2) the foreign travellers who all too willingly took the side of the boyars; and (3) the young Greeks who protested against national stalemate. This negative Phanariot image was passed on by means of Early Modern pamphlet literature, in travel reports and manifests, so attractively narrated that it eventually made its way into schoolbooks of the 19th and 20th century, even in literature and cinema.

Aron Kovács studies a special variant of cultural transfer for the first part of the 19th century. If, according to contemporary perception, the individual learned to interpret the world with the help of language, and if this language summed up the experiences of many, as emphasized particularly by Herder, then cultural and intellectual progress had to be linked to these speech communities. Moreover, if the speech community was identical with the nation, then the downfall of the speech community meant the downfall of the nation and, thus, of a specific, valuable view on the world. According to this perception, a consistent correlation between spoken and written language was eminently important. If this was not the case, an active intervention of the intelligentsia was required. Therefore, national politics and language politics did not overlap in Transylvania by chance during the late 18th century and early 19th century. An analysis of the works written by George Barițiu, Simon Bărnuțiu and Ioan Rus indicates the new self-understanding of the Romanian intelligentsia. "Authors became the leaders of society, deciding about its fate. Talking about the alphabet, loanwords, pronunciation, in a figurative sense, meant talking about the future of the nation."

The contribution of Melina Rokai is a good example demonstrating how a close view on South-Eastern Europe does not only help to understand this Southern part of Europe but also makes clear how the idea of the centre is conceptualized by social contacts between the centre and the periphery. British travel reports on Serbia from 1830-1903, studied by her, do not only provide information about local circumstances, but also about the perceptual worlds of the travellers themselves. In detail, she studies the question of whether a postcolonial perspective on South-Eastern Europe is justified. Her answer turns out quite differentiated. The perception

of the British travellers, the assessment of the country and people, particularly of the Serbian women, depended considerably on the respective geopolitical configuration. Before the Crimean War, Serbia and particularly its women, appeared as inferior, peasant and less civilized. After the conflict in Crimea, travellers discovered cultural similarities, the Orthodox Christian civilization, and even the self-evident modernity of the women as citizens. Clothes, national costumes, customs and legal provisions seemed almost no different in comparison to that of Great Britain. From this perspective, Serbia belonged to Europe. However, at the end of the century, the sentiments changed again: reflex of the modernization process in Europe and – it can be assumed – of a greater political distance between Great Britain and Serbia than in previous years.

Thus, while Melina Rokai reveals "modernity" in Serbia as a construct of Western perspectives, which refer to outer appearances, such as clothes, physical appearance, legal position and customs, Zsombor Bódy sees the opposite view. He examines the idea of the "modern American woman" and how this was integrated in the national culture of Hungary during the interwar period. While Western historiography often has underlined the restorative, even reactionary tendencies in Hungary during the 1920s and 1930s, Zsombor Bódy, however, reports on an astonishing push forward towards modernization. According to his argument, Hungary proved to be completely receptive for the discourse about modern woman. Women developed new styles of living. More and more women were employed. School and university training opened new possibilities for middle- and upper-class women. They engaged in public discourse, spoke self-confidently, and proved to be well informed on history and social affairs. In fact, the adaptation of the American discourse on emancipation in Hungary was made possible because (a) the places of discourse of women and men remained strictly separated, and because (b) the discourse on emancipation was related to the discourse on the nation. In some respects, the emancipation of women served the idea of a fighting nation better than the former idea of women as homemakers. Female emancipation and nationalism definitely were not mutually exclusive.

The essays of the following section address the problem of ethnic diversity and a state striving for integration. László L. Lajtai enters the discussion offering a highly differentiated view of the Hungarian national discourse. He starts by confirming the common view showing that a nationalistic discourse replaced a more critical approach to history at the end of the 19th century. Yet the schoolbooks of the time, as a special type of text, enforced a kind of openness to the national dialogue as they addressed simultaneously different ethnic groups. We find an emphasis on constitutional legality and the rule of law, which is not to be expected by pure nationalistic textbooks. At the beginning, in the 18th and 19th century, the "golden hordes" represented Hungarian nation-building in the schoolbooks; later on, the Christian foundation and the legal security ensured by Stephen the Great has been the focus of the narrations. "One of the most original innovations that the

textbook of the dualist age brought in the national discourse was the idea of an ethnically neutral Hungarian state which at all times approved the voluntary assimilation, but never forced it violently." If, around 1914, the focus once again shifted to the emphasis of a 1000-year-old Hungary, the reason was widespread uncertainty that forced the schoolbook authors to simultaneously separate different concepts of nation: political nation, cultural nation, ethnic nation and economic nation.

Andrei Cuşco analyses the overlap of conflicting discourses on modernity in Southern Bessarabia – the area around Cahul, Ismail and Chilia. In 1856, the great powers had decided to integrate Southern Bessarabia into the territory of the Romanian principalities due to its proximity to the Danube Delta. This decision was rendered moot after being pushed aside at the Berlin Conference (1878), when all of Bessarabia was placed under Russian rule once again. However, unlike in 1812 and 1856, the territorial changes now required an explicit "political" legitimation. Above all, the Russian Orthodox Church entered the scene for the required symbolic integration into the Russian Empire. It condemned Romania because of a "mimetic imitation of the Western model", called out the negligence of the region based on Romanian bureaucracy, and accused Romanian religious policy of implicit Catholicization. For the Russian administration, though, the issues generated other views. On the contrary, administrators acknowledged the advantages of the Romanian bureaucratic system and, therefore, urged St. Petersburg to pay attention to local traditions, an argument that was quite common for the administration of the Tsarist Empire. In the end, the administration prevailed and nothing changed. However, prior to the First World War, imperial discourse lost its relevance and found itself replaced by a new nationalist frame of reference putting "Greater Russia" into the centre of its argument. Thus, increasing pressure from St. Petersburg complicated the perpetuation of local particularities in administration. At the same time, Romania used the "local paradigm" as evidence for the affiliation of the region to Romania. Under these preconditions, the Russian Orthodox Church once again forced a change of discourse, emphasizing the community and homogeneity of Greater Russia. The relationship between centre and periphery was reversed. Prior to 1900, the common argument was for the enrichment of the centre through diversity of the border areas. After 1900, we find the "modern" promise in which complexity is reduced by setting up a national state with St. Petersburg as its cultural centre.

Felicia Waldman offers an overview of the intellectual debates regarding Jews in Romania and Transylvania in the late 19th century. The "Jewish question", she argues, reveals the fears and hopes of a society which has not yet found its place in the modern world. The Jews of this time have been labelled as barbarian, foreign and destroyers of any morality; at the same time, the nationalistic intelligentsia addressed them as all too competent people – reliable , hard-working, educated, in other words everything they themselves aimed at for the Romanians. The special structure of Transylvanian and Romanian society generated bitter social conflicts.

We find "new serfdom" and "capitalist agricultural trade", "traditional handicraft", import substitution by industry, as well as "ultramodern" petroleum industry. This contrasting, complex social setting could not easily be understood. Thus, the attack on the Jews served many needs at the same time: the deviation of social conflicts and legitizimation of privileges for the "Ethno-Romanian" elite, partially the rejection of any modernization. Significantly, it was reform-conservatives such as Titu Maiorescu or Petre Carp who condemned anti-Semitism. In their eyes, the outer forms and the actual foundation of Romanian society did not coincide. In their view, cultural modernization had to be initiated before any further steps could be undertaken successfully in other fields. In a way, however, radical anti-Semitic authors and more tempered conservative politicians arrived at the same conclusions: They noticed the Jews having already internalized modern culture, while the Romanians still had to meet the challenge. The different approach to the question may be explained by the fact that the modern-conservatives expressed their trust in the power of individual efforts, while the nationalists and the national liberals thought this to be too optimistic, and therefore opposed emancipation of the Jews.

As Waldman analysed the "Jewish question" at the end of the 19th century and thus the phase of a forced public marginalization of the Jews, whose "modernity" reveals the specific belated and misdirected Romanian path to modernity – obviously, an argumentative challenge for the nationalists and the national liberals – Florin Lobonț and Dan Stone raise the question of whether modernity and anti-Semitism are actually two antithetic concepts. They categorically deny this thesis. In their view, the Holocaust must be construed as a genuine expression of the modern age. This is even true for Hungary and Romania. Sure, Zygmunt Bauman already has defined the Holocaust as a violent outburst of modern society, but he has limited it to the technical side of the modern age, has neglected each reference to different paths of modernity, and avoided recourse to anti-Semitism as ideology. Therefore, the challenge for an interpretative approach, which involves Romania and Hungary in the explanation, is to develop a more complex model. Lobonț and Stone argue as follows: In those countries where the state has become an agent of modernization and social conflicts could not be restricted appropriately, an identity crisis progressively developed. In this situation, the political right and some of the technocratic elites plead for a different, more organic path to modernity. Comparable to what Philip Ther argued for the European case[5] and Vladimir Solonari for Romania[6], it has been the idea of a modern, homogenous nation implemented by the state that made the Holocaust possible. The political operatives in Hungary and Romania thought modernization not to be the result of an open, uncontrolled process with free interaction of individuals or the invisible hand of the market, but rather, that it had to be constructed and enforced by the nation-state. According to this view, the social conflicts and distortions of modernization could be avoided if the process of modernization was the expression of an ethno-national political force.

[5] Ther 2011.

[6] Solonari 2009; cf. also Heinen 2007.

The following article written by Ljubodrag P. Ristić discusses "modernization by the state" under a totally different perspective. The more Serbia modernized, the more it looked to distance itself from the Ottoman Empire, and the more it seemed to learn, it copied the Western model, and commanded the languages of Europe's Great Powers. Of course, there has also been a tradition of multilingualism by the Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Romanians, Jews and Albanians, who have been living in the country for centuries, earning their money as merchants or forced settlers; however, more important has been the fact that the Serbian state often sent its students abroad. They learned the local language and culture, the constitutional system there, and came back to the country with knowledge and enthusiasm for a modern society and state. Once back in Serbia, they tried new things, sometimes radical, other times by interpreting their own culture – "similar to the West long before" – then again by trying to relate modernity to the traditional Serbian culture. Due to the political and financial-economic development in the 19th century, France has become an admired reference centre, more important than Germany. The enthusiastic self-Europeanization of the Serbian elites underlines the central thesis of Melina Rokai: the inadequacy of a predominantly post-colonial perspective towards South-Eastern Europe.

Victor Rizescu directly links to the findings of Ljubodrag P. Ristić. Actually, the Romanian discourse on modernization in the 1920s and 1930s aimed at nothing but state intervention, planned economy and commitment to protectionism. All relevant doctrines of the time discussed those ideas more or less explicitly: Zeletin's neoliberalism, Madgearu's "țărănism", and Mihai Manoilescu's corporatism, which took Italian fascism as a starting point. Against this broad intellectual background, Dumitru Drăghicescu surprised with his doctrine of a socially equilibrated modernization of Romania. Stating this, he tried to take philosophical individualism seriously. In contrast to Zeletin, who referred to the German debate and was a philosopher, Drăghicescu studied sociology in France. He took over the Radical Democratic ideas from his tutor and related them to Marxism, stressing the idea of solidarity. Marxism and Christian solidarity did not make much difference to him, and this is why he thought of himself as a Marxist-Christian thinker. Even while the Great Depression destroyed all certainties, he adhered to the idea that an outcome must be found between economic planning and Manchester capitalism. Only by taking a path down the middle of the political extremes could solidarity and freedom be preserved. Modernization without freedom, he argued, will lead into dictatorship and, thus, to social stagnation. Modernization without solidarity causes social disturbance and will result in a disintegrated economy. Drăghicescu opposed Zeletin's commitment to capital concentration and to the predominance of "financial oligarchy", arguing that there is a real opportunity for a smooth transition to modernization via welfare state regulations, progressive taxation and social control of large productive assets. While small private property and small organizations would best meet the market requirements in the sense of Adam Smith, the large businesses had to be

controlled by society. Only in this way, liberal democracy and economic modernization could be intertwined. Drăghicescu, surprisingly enough, reformulated the ideas of German revisionism and recommended its ideas as guideline for Romania. In his view neither capitalism, nor peasantism, nor corporatism was an appropriate answer to the quest for uninterrupted modernization. Only Social Democracy was capable of reconciling the needs of modernization with the social needs of people. Summing up this chapter, it becomes clear why Southeast Europe's path to modernity is so instructive. A vast number of ongoing debates are echoed in this part of the continent, with many thinkers reformulating Western ideas while others attempt to develop independent answers to the pressures of modernization coming from the West.

However, the question remains about which potentialities did the South-Eastern European countries have to modernize, from a cultural point of view, to play a significant role in the "modern world"[7]. Travelers from Yugoslavia who visited Turkey between 1923 and 1939 reported surprising observations, according to Anđelko Vlašić. Turkey, they noticed, had been radically modernized in short time. The progress in industrialization, rationalization, nation-state building and the development of modern political institutions was unmistakable, they explained. Symptomatically, the new capital, Ankara, stood out to many travellers because of its strong secular life, and its wide, long streets full of houses. The undeniable influence of modern urban planning could be seen in Turkish cities. The schools seemed optimally equipped, and their curriculum reflected all the requirements of Western school systems. The Yugoslav visitors were fascinated especially by the fact that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk – in his efforts to highlight accordance with the West – disposed that Sunday, not Friday, be the day of rest. Even Muslim tourists from Bosnia praised the strict separation between state and religion in the former Ottoman state. When the question came to how this rapid modernization was made possible, references to the republican authoritarianism of Attatürk prevailed. For Yugoslavia in the period between the two World Wars, this was a revelatory observation. Thus, in a short period of time, the reference to the former hegemony from the Bosphorus changed: from the underdeveloped territory before the First World War to an extraordinary example of successful modernization in the 1920s and 1930s.

Sorin Alexandrescu reminds the reader in his essay to conceptualize modernity in a not too simplistic way. In this interwar period, Romanian intellectuals did not aim for a simple return to the past. On the contrary, the cultural milieus discussed – using quite modern aesthetics – which kind of modernity for which they aimed. A distinction must be made between "modernization" as social process, "modernity" as awareness of it, and "modernism" as cultural expression. The conflict was not about traditionalism and modernization but the intelligentsia discussed differently the need of continuity and rupture. In the following part of his essay, Alexandrescu focuses only on this latter aspect. He distinguishes between a moderate and an

[7] For nuances see also Neumann 2017.

extreme right orientation, as well as between a moderate and an extreme left variant of the critique of modernization. Indeed, as this is the core of his argument, it is completely wrong to identify and connect the intellectual discussions and milieus directly to political purposes and organizations. The intellectuals remained philosophically and sociologically motivated, and as writers, sociologists, geographers and poets, they were linked to the requirements of the Modern Age, especially in the style of their writing. In the interwar period, Romania was more complex, diverse and colourful than often referred to, and this is why its different intellectual milieus should be placed into their appropriate life contexts more precisely than before.

Alexandrescu focuses on the diversity of cultural life. The following two articles – once again on Romania – discuss the restricted appropriation of the past under communism and the development of specific "modern" stereotypes. Ruxandra Demetrescu and Alexandra Croitoru describe the ongoing reinterpretation of the sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi (1876-1957). In the 1930s, he was an admired avant-garde artist with Romanian roots. Under Ceauşescu he was presented as ambassador of the great Romanian nation and as an artist whose modernity was deeply rooted in traditional Romanian culture. After 1904, Brâncuşi lived in Paris. Here, in the French capital, he found stimulation and inspiration, and integrated various elements of abstract art into his work, ranging from Romanian folk art to African folk motifs and others. In spite of this, he became a central symbol of national identity. During the Ceauşescu era, Brâncuşi simply served as proof of "protocronism", an idea that Romania had developed all elements of modernity even before others states. The nationalist "branding" of Brâncuşi under Ceauşescu was directed so successfully that it fully integrated Brâncuşi into the national pantheon. Today, there is practically no Romanian who would disagree with the premise of Brâncuşi as a Romanian hero.

The subsequent essay by Cristian Roiban gives an insight into communist propaganda by party intellectuals. The so-called "ideological front" was deeply rooted in the Romanian party academy "Ştefan Gheorghiu". The political intellectuals of this institution were to launch strange "artificial concepts", just the opposite of the "basic concepts" to which Reinhart Koselleck referred. The new terms were not intended to prove their fruitfulness in the public sphere, but served as instrumental justification of a special "Romanian path" to modernity. Basically, it came down to legitimize the "charismatic leadership of Ceauşescu", highlighting the superiority of the ethnic Romanians, emphasizing the peaceful living together of the minorities, explaining the rejection of Moscow and justifying Romania's own claims for leadership within the ranks of the Third World. Neither argumentative coherence was requested, nor a critique of past meanings, but the invention of interpretable neologisms. They silenced Romanian society and ensured freedom of action in the field of international relations. As a result, the "ideological front" appealed to terms that had long been in the political vocabulary such as "nation", "people" or "national interest". However, by attributive expansion the terms lost their former meaning:

socialist nation, socialist patriotism, national interest and internationalist politics. Cristian Roiban labels this kind of language politics "linguistic engineering", thus drawing attention – once again – to the importance of language and to the conflicts linked to it. As Hans-Erich Boedeker and Sorin Alexandrescu have stressed, the process of modernization cannot be made intelligible if it is not explored in at least three different directions: by analysing the process of modernization itself, by a looking closely at the different conceptualizations of modernity, and by evaluating the related aesthetic expressions.

The present volume ends quite unconventionally. The article of Mihai Spăriosu certainly is not in line with all the other essays in the volume. Spăriosu does not argue primarily as a literary historian, though he is, but as a political man interested in coping with the demands of a globalized future. He defines modernity as a mental attitude of individuals, those who ask for radical change being modern. However, for whichever people strived, modernity or tradition, it was related to power politics and to the misuse of power. This is why we need a completely new approach. For this, Spăriosu uses the term *philosophia perennis* or neo-sophism, the willingness to openness and cooperation. His thoughts are becoming more concrete at the moment he analyses the biography of the Banat intellectual Paul Iorgovici (1764-1808). As a result, he argues that those societies, which stick to their multiculturalism, to their open border regime, their religious plurality, their regional diversity, are better prepared to master the demands of globalization than others do. Only by an attitude of acceptance and inherent peacefulness is it possible to rethink and reflect productively on the conflicts and crises of the globalized present. Finally, a network of "centres for collective reflection", which would bring together different knowledge and would make use of a new type of software, could productively take its starting point exactly from multicultural Central and South-Eastern Europe. The suggestion of Spăriosu reflects on the potentials of the current realities.

The present collection reveals why a closer look at the linguistic strategies for integrating modernity into the culture of Central and South-Eastern Europe is worthwhile to explore in more detail. A first idea: There were many paths to modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe – via the enlightened Habsburg Empire, via the Ottoman Empire (Phanariots), and via Russia. These old empires could certainly deal with heterogeneity. They appreciated administrative, economic and cultural modernization, in some respects, even the formation of civic consciousness. The Central and South-Eastern European regions know many variants of such overlaps, of such syncronisms and asynchronisms. The process of modernization did not run linearly but was the result of regional adoptions gradually reinforcing interpretations of modernity formulated by the intelligentsia. The fragmentation of Central and South-Eastern Europe with its manifold geographical, historical and cultural peculiarities and imperial imprints was the origin of a multitude of different interpretations of modernity. Contact with the West more intensely confirmed Central and South-Eastern Europe's capability to modernize – and challenged it at

the same time. The outcome of these positive and frustrating experiences were contradictory perceptions of and approaches to modernity. It has become obvious from this volume that by studying modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe we need to leverage different approaches: comparison, study of cultural transfer and analyses of entangled history. Finally, the history of Central and South-Eastern Europe may be analysed as paradigmatic for the social realities of today. It enables a closer look at the adoption of Western concepts, at the same time it allows to observe the development of quite distinctive interpretations and strategies of modernization.

What we had in mind in preparing the conference of 2014 was a study of cultural plurality and an analysis of the multiple codes of identity construction in Central and South-Eastern Europe during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. We welcomed the complex studies of different concepts and their ambivalences. In fact, we believe that a renewal of the historical discourse on Central and South-Eastern Europe will be possible by the transfer and adaptation of Koselleck's and "post-Koselleckian" approaches, thus enriching and widening the scope of historiography[8].

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[8] This article will be published as *Introduction* in the volume *Modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Ideas. Concepts. Discourses*, edited by Victor Neumann and Armin Heinen, RAO Publishing, Bucharest.

HOMO VIRIDIS CONTRA STRIGAS: ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL – RELIGIOUS ARCHEOLOGY IN RURAL TRANSYLVANIA

BOGDAN NEAGOTA

ABSTRACT*

Our study is twofold: a morphologic generic description of the ceremonial scenario, based on case studies (obtained from fieldresearches of author and collaborators between 2004-2018), and a historical-religious analysis of the deepest profundities of the mythical-ritual complex of the Green Man. The first part of the paper approaches the scenario of *Saint-George's caroling*, with its basic scheme: the vegetal mask's cortege wander through the whole village, stopping by every door or entering all courtyard, performing its program following relatively loose ceremonial rules: the mask is watered and waters at its turn, and when departing, he utters an augural formula, similar to those uttered at Christmas and New Year. Even if the exact formula is not being mentioned in the majority of archival accounts, the act of reciprocal sprinkling implies a ritually powerful augural value. The parallel with the winter ceremonial practices goes even further, up to the level of some borderline attitudes of the *un-caroling* kind (carnivalesque augural rite). In this situation, the ceremonial actors enjoy a carnivalesque status, everything being allowed to them without the fear of punishment (for example, the ityphallic performance of the *Băbăluda Dumb* in Buru). In fact this is, it seems, the generic status of ceremonial actors in other holidays, too; during the holidays (New Year, *Fărşanc*, *Sângeorz*, Pentecost etc,) the freedom of the mask bearers or of those hidden in the dark (*the calling over the village* was performed during nightime, in the eve of many holidays, including *Sângeorz*) is practically unlimited, nobody being allowed to infuriate, or, if they did, they were not allowed to punish the *tricksters*. The historical-religious drill-hole around this morphologic analysis is built around three axes:

(1) The rituality of the group of masked youth, marked by evident isomorphicisms with the system of initiation rites, both specialized or into puberty, specific to customary societies (conventionally called primitive or traditional). Here we discuss a range of methodological issues, belonging to the *palimpsest* structure of the cultural cluster which fertility is, narratively salient (with mythical and fictional features, strongly, albeit regionally traced), as well as to the historical-religious comparativism between the system of the initiation rites as compared to the system of calendrical rites.

* This work is dedicated to Traian Gherman (1879-1961), whose researches on *Sângeorz* (1932-1958) made it possible for us to know and understand this ritual. Warm thanks to Ileana Benga for the toil of the linguistic and hermeneutic translation of this paper.

(2) The magical-religious ideology of fertility, in its micro- (that is, the Romanian speaking) and macro-regional context (the idea of cultural corridors, on the traces of South-Eastern and East-European transhumant trajectories).
(3) The archaic scenario of the battles for fertility, narratively discussed (within a number of cultures, both Slavic and Romance), has a ceremonial output in the Romanian scenario from the Feast of Saint George, as present in Central and Northern Transylvania: a firm opposition between the Green Men and *Strigoaie.* This working hypothesis of historical-religious relevance stays at the core of our study: namely, that the archaeology of the Greenmen, beyond its fortuitous survival in islands (in Transylvania, Croatia, Slovenia, Italy and Switzerland) must be connected to the magical-religious ideology around the fertility, general to all European and non-European peasant cultures. Moreover, the ritual syntax of Green Men as enacted in Transylvania is merely a dramaturgic expression of extatic battles for fertility. Here, though, in the case of the ceremonial, the battles, rather than extatically, are real and ritually enacted. Instead of the professionalized technicians of extasy (of the *Benandanti*, *Kresniki* and *Strigoaie* type), we deal with ritual actors, belonging to the youth male peasant fraternities, who perform specific pubertary rites, in the usual syntax of the rites of passage. In other words, the young masked as Green Men play the part of the *Benandanti* (*strigoii buni*), who, while being epiphanically, ritually, present, carol throughout the village (*colindatul de primăvară*), neutralize the power and strength of the Evil fighters (*Strigoaielor rele*), protect the animal, vegetal and human bearers of fertility (*mana*) and stimulate the "strength of the living world" (*rodirea*). The scope of the entire ritual scenario and ceremonial enactment from the Feast of Saint George encompasses protection and intensification, or activation, even, of the worldly fertility, which lies at the very foundation of the cultural system of customary societies, and a *sine qua non* condition of life itself.
Keywords: Saint George, Green Man, fertility, ecstatic witchcraft, charivari.

§ 1. PROLEGOMENA

Our paper approaches a ceremonial broadly attested in Pre-Modern rural Europe: the spring vegetal masks' carolling – from St. George's Day to Whitsunday – with one or more actors dressed un verdure (usually green twigs) and, at times, tree bark accessories (most often, wild cherry-tree).

The ritual, described *in primis* by W. Mannhardt and J.G. Frazer[1] has survived insularly in a number of areas, such as: Central and Northern Transylvania (Romania); Croat Dalmatia and Pre-Alpine Slovenia; Molise (Italia); Germanic-speaking cantons and limitrophe areas of Geneva canton (Switzerland)[2]. Given the plurality of names granted to this series of isomorphic rituals/ceremonials/festivals, we have opted for a conventional name: *Homo Viridis*[3]. We nonetheless should not forget that, behind

[1] See Mannhardt 1875 şi 1877. Frazer 1911/2: chapter 10 (Relics of Tree Worship in Modern Europe).

[2] All these modern/contemporary mentions of the *Green Man* seem to line a few intermediary links binding together in a cultural corridor which united, in early Middle-Ages, pastoral Carpathian and Alpine societies, together with Friulian and Dalmatian extensions, inter-linked through an area of complex communication, sustained by transhumant movements (cf. Neagota 2012: 79-80).

[3] *Homo Viridis* (cf. *Green Man*, *L'Homme vert*/*Le Feuillu*) beholds, in our nomenclature, a generic meaning, covering the entire cultural folkloric reality – ritual/ceremonial, narrative (mythical-fictional) and figurative (artistic representations, sculptural/pictural). Therefore, we define ourselves from a

this uncanny affinity or morphological overlapping, substantial diverse historical realities endure – political, social-economic, mentality, or religious – having marked not only the cultural transmission of these structures and festive behaviours, but also, their customary body of significance. The last stage of the ancient custom, festivalization, expression of an identity *revival* (Francophone Switzerland), is diminished or even missing in Germanophone Switzerland, in Molise and in Transylvania, where the ceremonial displays to this day a body of organic features with proven historical continuity.

In Transylvania, the custom has been maintained till the beginning of the nineties, in a number of different regions, and to the day in a few disparate places. Ceremonial intervals coincide with the occurrence of a number of feasts: St. George's, and *Împreunatul oilor/Măsurişul laptelui [Sheep mating/Milk measuring]* at the beginning of May, that is, around St. George's in 'old style', Julian calendar (May 6th)[4]; Ascension Day/*Ispas* or Whitsuntide/*Rusalii*. Based on our own field researches (AEO)[5], on Traian Gherman's exhaustive researches (unfolding between 1932-1958)[6], on archival documents (AFC)[7] and on the few existing thematic studies[8], we can foster the following working hypothesis. The ceremonial complex

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restrictive meaning of the *Green Man* denomination, which *stricto sensu* encompasses medieval and post-medieval figurative representations, albeit with vernacular rooting, of a human-daemonic character adorned with verdure/green branches/sprouts, or other vegetal motifs (Basford 1998 [1978]). We only tackle the ethnological-anthropological and historical-religious diachrony of the *Green Man* character, as being thematized within customary popular cultures, and not late nineteenth century magical-religious avatars (fit for a diverse social-anthropological-religious research) of the kind: *Green Men* as syncretic representative figure of the New Age culture, backed by a number of romantic and post-romantic (ecologist) *revivals*, active for the last two centuries (Centerwall 1997: 25-33. Essaka 2007). While conscious of the cognitive risks of too broad an extension of the *Green Men* category, which could transform the denomination in an *explanatory concept*, we prefer to speak not of an ethnologic-anthropologic concept stemmed from a folkloric name, but rather, of the cultural complex of the *Green Men*, covering a heterogeneous reality traversed by diachronic structures of continuity and modernity-specific discontinuities.

[4] In Romania, the Gregorian calendar was adopted in successive stages. After the creation of Great Romania (1918), the issue of unifying the calendar became urgent, since the calendar styles differed in the Romanian historical provinces: Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina were already using the Gregorian calendar, while the Small Kingdom (Oltenia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Dobrudja) and Bessarabia were still using the Julian calendar. After the first failed attempts at calendar reform, backed in the Romanian Parliament (1864 and 1900), but contested by the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC), the Gregorian calendar has successively been adopted by the Romanian army (1/14 February 1919), the government (1/14 April 1919) and ROC (October 1924), after the Pan-Orthodox Conference in Constantinople, in 1923 (Agrigoroaiei 2001: 220. Bulei 1984).

[5] These researches, endeavouring to cover ceremonial practices at Sângeorz, have been undertaken in team with Ileana Benga, and then extended to network-type researching with students and collaborators of Orma, between 2004 and 2018.

[6] See the list of the villages with *Sângeorz* ceremonial practices in Gherman 1986 [1958]: 91-95.

[7] For the ethnologic material referring to *Păpălugără* in AFC, see the answers to the 4th Questionnaire of Ion Muşlea.

[8] Téglás 1910: 243-246. Rădulescu 1938: 148-158. Retegan 1957, 27-54. Gherman 1986 [1958]: 89-118.

is attested in two major variants of the spring carolling: the processional variant, featuring a unique masked character[9], and the dramatized, featuring a complex ceremonial distribution[10]. There is no established anteriority between the two, since in the latter case, dramatization results from augmentation of the casting.

The ceremonial growth by means of multiplying the number of characters is usually accomplished with imports from other calendar customs, thereby intertextually accumulating characters, scripts and ceremonial props. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is a similar phenomenon to antique and late antique polytheist syncretism: where strong gods, with substantial theological-political and social relevance and institutional endorsement, would engulf smaller gods. In folkloric societies, the strong mythical-fictional figures would assimilate the weak ones, or weakened, while strong, prestigious ceremonials (in magical-religious, social-cultural, and identity terms) would gulp the time worn ceremonials, un-viable within the local cultural context, by offering the weak some 'calendar asylum', or simply imperialistically, appropriating everything useful to the ceremonial performance. A theory of transmission of *ceremonial invariants* within folkloric cultures should mind as many factors which influence and make possible cultural transmission, as they can. In the case of *Sângeorz*, the morphologic intertwining with other calendar customs (*Christmas* and *New Year* mask-bearers, *Plugarul*/Ploughman on second day of Easter, *Boul Împănat*/the Adorned Ox of Whitsuntide)[11] and with a number of narrative oral traditions[12] and magical practices, are genuinely obvious.

Beyond the irreducible feature that any form of local popular culture is being internalized and passed down from one generation to another, as if it were unique, a regional cultural system endures, with growing and developing local cultural onenesses. Being an ethnologist's duty to compare and break down singularities, and melt them in typological syntheses, we tackle a similar task, at least at a preliminary stage[13].

Methodologically, our approach is aiming at breaking the festal complex at Sângeorz, seen as a syntactic unity, into functional dynamic micro-units[14], coalescing

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[9] The linear procession of a youth dressed in forest green branches throughout the main road of the village stops by every household, exactly as the Christmas carolling of the village, and is being thereupon soaked in water, main character together with his cortège.

[10] The dramatized variant involves two or more ceremonial actors, masked in green branches and wild cherry-tree bark, adjoined by auxiliary characters (drummers, military etc.). I am grateful to Ileana Benga for providing theoretical suggestions regarding implicit dramatization of the ceremonial.

[11] For the syncretism with other spring ceremonials (*Plugarul/The Ploughman* and *Boul împănat/The Adorned Ox*), see Retegan 1957: 27-54. Gherman 1979: 599-618. Id. 1981: 157-200. Id. 1986: 89-118. Neagota 2005: 45-60. Neagota, Benga 2009: 405-428. For the intertwining between *Păpălugăra* from Sângeorz and *Păpăruda* from South and Sub-Carpathian Transylvania, see Stoica-Vasilescu 1970: 373-387. Pop 1989: 139-144.

[12] For example, the 'tree-bark boots' attribute of the feminine character of *Goțoiu* from Sălicea (on Arieș Valley) is isomorphic with narrative descriptions of the *Maid of the Forest,* of *memorata* type; *in extremis*, they both are forest *daemons*, one purely ceremonial, while the other, strictly narrative (Eretescu 2007: 151-570).

[13] Neagota 2008: 38-50.

[14] cf. the comparative analysis of Proppian functions and Culianu's cognitive rules (Neagota 2013: 63-88).

different historical-religious levels: (1) male initiation rites (pubertal and warrior); (2) archaic ideology of mundane fertility (together with agonistical *mana* rites); (3) agrarian ritology, calendar-round coalesced; (4) carnivalesque ritual practices. Their organic fusion not only is the result of a more or less arbitrary cultural juxtaposition, but certainly is the expression of diachronic multiple interactions, motivated by the social-cultural morphodynamics of peasant cultures belonging to pre-historic and historic Europe.

In that sense, we have operated a division into morphemes, whose interaction form a unitary morphology (the ceremonial itself): a typology of actors (the main character/s and their helpers), a phenomenology of masking (which can then be further integrated into a local typology), the ceremonial screenplay (with local morphologic variants), the un-masking (*intra* and *extra muros*, *i.e.* in the village, or outside of it), the epilogue (party, dancing, football etc.). In a second stage, our analysis should approach the syntactic functions from within ritual sentences and the entire ceremonial text. In the third stage, we would delve into significances and attributions, in the ceremonial semantics, and its entire polysemy and ambivalence. In the limited space of this paper each of these stages shall be contracted, punctuated and described, with minimal local *excursus* and examples.

§ 2. FROM MORPHOLOGY TO MORPHODYNAMICS

Started in 2004, our research on the *Păpălugără* ceremonial complex widened until identifying the active representative local variants (extant in the areas of Someş Valley, Small-Someş Valley, Arieş Valley, Transylvanian Plateau), ultimately finding the middle-passive and passive ceremonial texture binding together vivid customs of these regions in a genuine inter-textual snare, where nooses are local ceremonial texts and micro-zone contexts. It is a well-known fact that on roads along the riverbanks, beside commerce with various merchandises between villages, there were exchanges with immaterial cultural items, too, even if in the form of *invariants*. Beyond the morphology of local variants we have examined in the field, we attempted to reconstruct the ceremonial morphodynamics, in order to better understand their respective transmission mechanisms and the way they unfolded in time[15]. Cataloguing a given local ceremonial in a certain regionally attested morphologic category is not very helpful in understanding ceremonial transmission, but it does shed light on the ceremonial invariants prone to diachronic mobility in mainly-oral cultures, as units detected in the morphologic variety of the custom, bound as it is to its regional context. Stems from here a visibility of inter-textual connections in our selected field-areas, and also a profundity of mechanisms of ceremonial transmission, where the live local custom does only represent the social-cultural top of the iceberg of the spring ceremonial complex.

The ample morphodynamics of local ceremonial variants is difficult to reconstruct, given the document scarcity prior to the end of 19th century. Therefore

[15] Culianu 1994: 41-43. Benga 2005: 5-13, 184-185.

the only thing we can do is to approach the recent history of the custom by addressing the memory of elder generations we encounter in the field, assuming that their testimonies would bring light on the various stages a certain ceremonial has traversed, on the internal (intra-specific variation of oral cultures, the dynamics of collective mentalities, spectacular performances of the custom) as well as external (contact with other variants, contamination, the impact of hegemonic social-political and cultural structures, the oblivion of *Sângeorz* after the calendar reform, the social-economic and mentality transformations of rural societies)[16] factors contributing to the transformation of the custom to this day.

Henceforth, the custom's morphodynamics[17] can be reconstituted by spotting and knotting textual ceremonial indexes together with inter-textual and contextual indexes[18]. Yet, a pattern of the mechanisms of ceremonial transmission which led to the spread of a custom among rural communities is hard to mould, conditioned as it is not only by the social-economic and cultural context every village is, but also by the more fluid factor of folklore creativity, which is utterly mobile inside a given cultural system, without being anomic. In other words, in every village an individual person must have innovated decisively the ceremonial life of their own group. Almost always in the village history there has been someone who brought a custom or a ceremonial practice they saw elsewhere, branded it, planted it in local community soil, nurtured it, and hoped it root.

In the particular case of the strolling and carolling the village called *colindatul de Sângeorz*, a clear scheme may be outlined: the cortège of the vegetal mask strolls the entire village, stops at every gate or enters every courtyard, performs according to loose ceremonials rules, soaks and is being soaked in water, and when leaving,

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[16] cf. Gherman 1973: 427-434. Nicola 1982: 553-554. Benga 2005: 184-185.

[17] We favour the term *morphodynamics* to *evolution,* which, corrupted by positivist and neo-positivist epistemic premises, risks dragging ethnological research into explicative concepts and cognitive aporia (Couliano 1992: 1-8).

[18] Ceremonial texts (as cultural texts) need their own analysis, synchronically (the morphologic description of a ceremonial at a given moment) and also in a relative diachrony, in order to extract the morphodynamic structure of a custom, through trans-generational interviews (targeting the contextualization of ceremonial texts in the interlocutors' life-stories). Secondly, ceremonials should be approached and connected in the specific inter-textual weave, in relation to other more or less active calendar customs from local tradition, as well as in connection to family customs (Pop 1999: 40-41). All magical-religious ceremonials and practices are virtually inter-textually linked in a cognitive, structural, archetypal, etc., network, because of the systemic nature of "folk ethos" (Crețu 1980: 114): folkloric texts are built upon the *cognitive rules* which structure Romanian folk cultural macro-system and the regional and local folk micro-systems altogether. Thirdly, these inter-textual networks of ceremonial texts are being integrated in various social-economic and cultural contexts or micro-contexts. Ethnological-anthropological knowledge defies macro-contextual explanations as not functional, stressing the exclusive validity of de-centralized, punctual, micro-contextually limited explanations. Successive analyses should then round further the hermeneutic circle, from local micro-contexts to regional contexts. Transformations of the local custom can be addressed in relation with a same custom or with related calendar customs from neighbouring villages or from villages connected by commercial links or position on the economic migration axis (cf. Neagota 2005: 53-57).

utters an augural formula similar to those uttered at Christmas and the New Year[19]. Even if the exact formula isn't mentioned in the majority archival information, the act of reciprocal watering beholds an implicit augural value, ritually very powerful. Parallels with ceremonial winter practices deepen, with the presence of attitudes of the type of *un-carolling/descolindatul* (carnivalized augural rite[20]). Here, ceremonial actors rejoice in a carnival-like status, being permitted everything with no punishment (*e.g.* the ithyphallic performance of *Băbăluda's Mute* from Buru[21]). This seems to be the generic status of ceremonial actors in other celebrations or feasts, too: they are entirely free for the duration of the feast, whether it be through masking (on New Year, *Făşanc*/Carnival, Sângeorz, Whitsun etc.), or through dusk and dark camouflage (*yelling over the village/strigatul peste sat* was being performed on the eve of most feast-days, including Sângeorz), since no one is permitted to be offended, or if they do, they aren't allowed to punish the *tricksters*[22].

Ritual dramaturgy is being consumed in two acts, the night before the feast or the eve (1) and the day of the feast (2): (1) the wake by the fire (double trial: initiation, for the actors, and apotropaic, for themselves and the respective community)[23]; rolling burning wheels down the hill, still active in some villages (Muncel) or interrupted as consequence of conditions imposed by landowners in the area (Mintiu Gherlii, Mănăstirea)[24]; *yelling over the village/from the hill* (satirical extempore verses of the kind of versified imprecation, aiming at disclosing the *strigoaie* witches

[19] The variants from Deleni, Micești, Hăşdate and Buru.

[20] See the ceremonial variants from Deleni, Bonț and Vad. "Where they weren't given proper gifts, *Goțoii* used to strike 'gates and gate pillars with axes until they received them' (Bonț), soiling the gifts or the house walls, since 'there is no law against them' (Vad)." (AFAR, ap. Cuceu 1981: 212) Regarding *descolindat* in the context of winter holidays, see Caraman 1997.

[21] *Mutu Băbăluzii*, the male character in the *Păpălugăre* couple from Buru, is attested in more villages in the region (Borzești, Petreștii de Jos, Deleni, Iara). We think he belongs to the category of migrating ceremonial actors, part-taking to the morphological class of ithyphallic characters (*Mutul/Dumb-Trickster*), widely documented within ceremonials of the entire Romanian rural space. Here are some ceremonial appearances of this emblematic character, with both carnivalesque-ludic and augural function (showing the phallus to induce fertility): *Moșuțul* (i.e. *Păpălugăra*) from Vad – Someș, accompanying the 6-12 *Moroi* (i.e. *Goțoi*), flashing the long stick between the legs (AFAR, ap. Cuceu 1981: 210); *Mutul itiphalic* from the Căluşari brotherhood (Oprişan 1969: 178-192. Kligman 2000: 113-138); the carnival straw man (*Făşanc*), endowed with an erect phallus (in almost all local variants of the *Făşanc* from Caraş-Severin – AEO 2007-2011).

[22] On the ritual status of *tricksters,* see Makarius 1974: 215-303.

[23] A similar waking trial, sitting by the fire, is present in a number of Romanian fairy-tales: the fire must be carefully attended by the heroes, one by one, and should it blow out, because of someone's lack of care, it may even end in death penalty for the culprit. The fire is blown during combat with the feminine daemon (*Mama Pădurii*/the Mother of the Forest) or the masculine daemon (*Jumătate-om-călare-pe-jumătate-iepure-şchiop*/Half-a-man-riding-half-a-lame-hare), so the hero must set on the road to retrieve the fire, before his buddies or siblings awaken. In a number of *memorata* from Maramureş, *Fata Pădurii/The Maiden of the Forest* gets into the shepherd hut and blows out the fire, urinating or throwing into the live coals the human victim, a lad (Bilțiu 1999).

[24] Note the isomorphism between the burning wheels down the hill (old cart wheels, of yore, and used tyres, of recent) and the cart wheels *strigoaie* witches are said to turn into, while travelling in ecstasy (Muncel).

without naming them, and also aiming at hijacking their noxious agency[25]; verses to mock spinsters in the village, associating them to real or fictional mates, utterly unfit[26]); (2) bringing green branches and collecting the wild cherry-tree bark; making the masks and putting them on; the descent of the green masked men in the village, in the uproar of yelling and sounding from blowing wooden instruments (tree-bark bugles/*bucine* and whistles/*fliș coaie* (ritual noise); watering, soaking with water and, rarely, with milk (with ludic and augural function: re-activating and enhancing the virtues of the *mana*, and the health of all those soaked at *Sângeorz*); strolling and carolling the village, with gift exchanges (the vegetal masked characters bring forth the *mana* and *sporul casei*/the plenty of the household, and receive in return symbolic gifts from the landlords: eggs, plum brandy *țuică*, small amounts of money); un-masking, distributing the gifts collected on the stroll of the village, and the common final party (traditional dance session or, more recently, football)[27].

§ 3. MALE INITIATION RITES, CARNIVAL FOLK CULTURE AND AGRARIAN RITES

The night of Saint George/*Sângeorz* is scene for an initiatory ritual, with forest reclusion of the ritual group and the pursuance of initiatory trials. The recent morphology of a number of ceremonials with green masks, attainable through interviews – in Buru and Suarăș (Cluj county) and in Căianu Mare (Bistrița-Năsăud county), or extant – in Codor (Cluj county), enables us to foster the following hypothesis: in the eve of certain feast days along the year, adolescent youth would gather in the woods to spend the entire night among themselves, awake by the fire. Any feminine presence was strictly forbidden, just like in the case of the yelling over the village/*strigatul peste sat*. It is explicitly assumed that the night must be spent on wake, no participant being permitted to sleep, under threat of smarting punishments. At the dawn, they bark the wild cherry-trees[28], tailor the bark to make

[25] That is the active-to-the-day case of the yelling over the village/*strigatului din deal* from Caila (Bistrița-Năsăud county), where the extempore verses invite the witches/*strigoaiele de mană*, on the eve of St. George's, to consume the "mana căcatului" (literally: of the faeces, the imprecation beholding here an apotropaic valence): "Hey, you, who are witches, do not take the milk *mana,* from the mouth of the poor, rather take shit's *mana,* from the shade of the fence!" (Măi, care sunteți bosorcăi,/ Nu luați mana laptelui/ De la gura săracului,/ Ci luați mana căcatului/ De la umbra gardului!").

[26] E.g. *Yelling over the village*/*Strigatul din coastă* in village Muncel (Neagota, Benga 2009: 410-411). For a broad radiography of the *Yelling over the village*/*Strigatul peste sat,* see Manolescu 1967: 111-150.

[27] N. Al. Rădulescu, witnessing *Sângeorz* in Topa Mică (Cluj county), in 1937, divided the ritual script in three parts: "dressing up Sângiorz, the village carolling, and un-dressing in the cornfield" (Rădulescu 1939: 149).

[28] Cherry-tree bark is removed from the tree using an archaic technique attested in other cultures, too: the chunk of bark is being cut up circularly, at the upper and at the lower height, with the axe or knife, it is then battered mildly all arond the tree trunk, in order to detach the bark from the trunk, then it is incised longitudinally, so that the bark may be removed gently from the trunk with bare hands (lest it cleaved).

helmets and breastplates, and bring the heaps of branches come into leaf for the vegetal garments.

In Buru, some 10-15 years ago, the young who were making the *Băbăluda* mask and ceremonial would stay all night of *Sângeorz* long, in spot called "Up in the rock"/*În Piatră*, right where the ancient Roman road started, partying by the fire and blowing the bugles from time to time. Ceremonial actors had to fit the age preceding the military service, which made *Sângeorz* represent the passage from one social status, to another: the adult[29]. In Suarăş, youngsters who were preparing *Păpălugăra* would retreat in the forest near the village and sit by the fire all night long[30]. In Căianu Mic, the night before Whitsun saw the youth secluding in a forest on nearby hills, where they were partying by the fire while making the vegetal masks; from there, they were descending in the village with the masks on, so no one would learn their identity before the end of the ceremonial. In Codor, near Dej, the eve of Whitsuntide is also called The Night of Lads/*Noaptea Băieţilor* and still holds onto very strict rules[31]: lads sit the entire night by the fire, keeping vigil, in a glade of the forest skirting the village; in the morn they make the masks for *Goţoi* and the leaf-garments for *Păpălugăre.* Then they descend, masks on, and at least in theory, they are not allowed to remove their masks before carolling is over, camouflaging thus their human identity. In the fifties, many such festal local variants have been recorded, in which nocturnal initiatory stages forewent the strolling and carolling of the vegetal masks throughout the village: and in different counties, the making of masks and the masking would take place at night, in the forest, by firelight[32].

These ceremonial practices present salient similarities with initiations from tribal extra-European societies, where forest reclusion (*i.e.* separation from family and community), assuming the initiatory trials (fortifying thus physical and psychical endurance) and masking (identity marker of ritual actors) were *sine qua non* elements of the screenplay and the initiatory dramaturgy[33].

On the archaic social-cultural structure of puberty initiations, later grafts from the dominant society were instilled, especially during the Austrian rule, as effect of the compulsory military service and the homology between the rigidity of initiation rites and

[29] Neagota 2008: 15-21.

[30] Ambruşan 2011: 223-241.

[31] Lads who do not manage to stay awake are being mocked and put through tricks by their pals. Moreover, the initiatory structure is visible also in the fact that those who enter the Rusalii group must undergo certain hierarchical stages. Youngsters are only being permitted to collect green branches, those joining the group for their first must dress in *Păpălugăre* (two of them, head to toes dressed in green twigs), and only afterwards do they have the right to dress as *Goţoi* (10-12 of them) masked with helmets, belts, ankle and wrist guards, epaulets, purse – all from wild cherry-tree bark (AEO 2005-2009).

[32] Gherman 1986: 96 (generic description); 98-99 (villages on the Mureş Valley, between Ocna Mureş – Aiud – Teiuş); 99-100, 110-11 (on the upper course of Arieş river); 100-101 (Someş basin); 104, 108-109 (Little Someş Valley).

[33] Eliade 1995: 15-103. In the case of masculine initiatory societies, masking holds a prime ritual function: by means of masking, the magic power of men grows incrementally, just as the magic power of women becomes fully efficient through ritual nudity (Eliade 1964: 877-888).

the mere institution of the army. The fact could explain why, in variants attested in both archival resources and living field, the ceremonial is involving military accessories, in clothing (helmet, belt, epaulets, purse from wild cherry-tree bark), armament (sword and wooden gun) and para-military regulations, all leading to assimilating ceremonial actors with soldiers/gendarmes – *soldații/jendarii Sângeorzului*[34].

A number of villages in Central and Northern Transylvania presented *Green Men* tied, according to Julian calendar, to Old-Style *Sângeorz*, when flocks would gather and sheep milk was measured for each sheep to each owner: this practice (the milk measurement – *măsurișul / împreunatul*) had a festive side to it, marked by specific rites. Today, the calendar memory of Old-Style *Sângeorz* has set, in villages which still hold the custom active. Alive is the custom, linked to the village economy, of measuring the milk before gathering the flock and leaving for pasture, usually set for the first week in May. The custom *Păpălugăra* as ritual adjoined to milk measurement was still active by 2006-2009, at least in a number of villages[35]. The night before the Measuring/*Măsuriș* was a night of wake by the fire. For the youth, this ritual action is occasion for fun. For elderly shepherds, the wake by the fire has strict finalities: protecting the sheep from *strigoaie* (aggressors of animal fertility), in an open space (the pasture) where they are being exposed to magic attacks[36]. Even within villages devoid of vegetal masks, the eve of the Measurement/Gathering – *Măsurișul/Împreunatul* is most often a night of wake. Afterwards, at noon, when sheep are herded from the pasture for the first milking and for measurement, *Păpălugăra* walks ahead of the flock, being watered by the owners of the sheep when the flock draws near the sheepfold. They then shed the vegetal garments inside the pen, while sheep eat the green twigs of the masked character, with beneficial results (it is believed that this "communion" is enhancing ovine lactation and is protective against aggression from *strigoi-strigoaie*)[37].

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[34] Gherman 1986: 101-102. AFAR, ap. Cuceu 1981: 210-211. Neagota 2008: 15-21.

[35] We refer here to a number of villages (Cămărașu, Geaca, Voivodeni, Dragu) researched by our team, *i.e.* Bogdan Neagota and Ileana Benga, and, occasionally, by members and collaborators of the group *Orma Sodalitas Anthropologica*. Within the past ten years, on the foreground of social-economic changes arisen within rural communities, following the policies of exclusive subsidizing of flocks larger than 50 heads, small owners have gradually but rapidly disappeared, along with the custom of measuring/gathering-*măsurișul/împreunatul*, because in the case of large flocks, with only two or three owners, measuring the milk was no longer requisite. Romania adhering process to the European Union marked, for the old customary rural society, the terminal phase, following in the paces of accelerated acculturation caused by Soviet cooperativization and socialist industrialization, which have converted the old peasants into agriculture workers (cooperatists) and, subsequently, into farmers.

[36] This ritual functionality of fire on the eve of the flock gathering/*împreunatul* has been noticed and expressed by shepherds in Geaca and Cămărașu (in 2006-2007). Cf. an archival information from Ciubanca (Cluj): "Sheep on the evening of April 22nd (*Sângeorz* on Gregorian Calendar, the new-style – n.n.) do not return home from the pasture, but are goaded by lads to the field or forest, away from the village. There, lads all gather together, make a fire and spend all night joking and story-telling." (AFAR, ap. Cuceu 1981: 208).

[37] Similarly, at the end of St. George's feast in Sânpaul and Ugruț (Cluj county): "the entire cortège rushes at collecting as many leaves as possible, which they then give to cattle, in the belief that ‚should the cattle eat these *Sângeorz*-worn leaves, it would boost lactation and enhance their milk'." (Gherman 1986: 100)

Much in the same way, in a number of villages from Țara Lăpușului (Maramureș county) where the Measuring/*Măsurișul* does not entail this type of ceremonial *dramaturgy* with *Green Men*, green twigs, mostly from beech-tree, are used to adorn the entire sheepfold, all around and inside, at each enclosure – *strungă* – where they milk the sheep[38]. It is a fully-fledged *circumambulatio* ritual, from right to the left, meant for the defence of the sheepfold space and the stimulation of ovine/caprine lactation, preceding the similar gesture of the priest, who goes around the pen after the milking, in a same direction, sprinkling holy water onto the flock. Additionally, when milking is done, some owners (*baci*) wrench leaves from the branch stuck by the milking enclosure/*strungă* and spread them on the milk in the bucket (*șuștari*)[39]. Differentiating between the two practices, with branches come into leaf, and with *Green Men*, is a matter of degree, not substance – between a simple ritual and a ceremonial screenplay of a dramaturgic kind. The magic-religious finality is though a same one: the transfer of the germination impulse from the forest to the flock of sheep and goats, assimilating thus, on the account of domestic bestiary, the oozing vegetal fertility.

Without detailing excessively, we must not oversee one ceremonial sequence very much relevant in the context of magical-religious interaction, ritually-dramaturgically addressed, between the forest space (exemplar germinating matrix) and the human space (of cultural construction): the un-masking of the *Green Man*, accomplished in the perimeter of the village (*intra muros*) or outside of it (*extra muros*). In the former case, a series of places are preferred for shedding the vegetal garment by the *Green Man*, chosen to suit the social and economic status of the host/*gazda* (the priest[40] or another well-off man in the village), whose welfare would be enhanced through the much loaded garments of *Păpălugăra*; at times, the place is fortuitous, so that the entire un-masking procedure is de-ritualized, at the "house of the dance" [41] or by the pub. In the latter case, predominance is given to cornfields (*Holdele*)[42] which thus bear fruit, by means of this effigy-mediated sacrifice: the *Green Man*, after having fertilised the households (through the mere strolling and carolling the village, and through the gift of the green twig coming from his *kratophanical* clothing), is dying, fulfilling his mission, while the

[38] *Strunga* is the enclosure made in the boarded fence of the sheepfold/*stână* (made of planks/*lese* propped up by poles stuck in the ground and bound with wire), whereby sheep go, one by one, from the pen where they had been gathered, to the pen where they are being milked by the shepherds/*păcurari* (shepherds hired from spring to fall) and by the *baci* (owners who have gathered their sheep in the respective flock).

[39] Field information from Stoiceni, Maramureș county (AEO 2018).

[40] In villages on the left of river Mureș, between Ocna Mureș and Aiud (Gherman 1986: 99).

[41] Brăzești, Valea Arieșului (Gherman 1986: 99).

[42] We extract here three older examples: Deușu (Cluj county): "After having strolled the entire village, *Sângeorzul* alights in the cornfield and undresses in the field of who pays more'." (Gherman 1986: 100) Sânpaul and Ugruț (Cluj county): "undressing *Sângeorz* by the village border" (Ibid) Topa Mică (Cluj): "Green bundles have been scattered on the cornfield (at the wayside cross/*la cruce* – n.n.) in order to bear abundant fruit. Some people even pay more to have *Sângiorzul* undress upon their cornfield/*holda*." (Rădulescu 1928: 153-154)

sacrificially consecrated land would bear fruit hundredfold. A similar diffusion has the undressing by flowing water[43], in a puddle[44] or by a well[45]. One only information mentions that they strip the *Păpălugăra* back in the forest: thus, the fertilo-phorous daemon is sacrificed in his genetic space, wherein he is returned[46].

On the other hand, both festive situations we referred afore, *i.e.* the ceremonial group of those masked on *Sângeorz* or Whitsuntide, and the pastoral group (the shepherd together with the lads who guard the flock and lie in the wait, the whole night before the sheep-gathering/*împreunatul*) have a similar functionality, connected to the defence and stimulation of mundane fertility, both animal and vegetal. When the masks descend from the forest, they act so as ceremonial *mana*-bearers and as defenders of it. Like in the case of other customs which entail masking and carolling of village – we hereby refer to the winter festive cycle (Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Shrovetide) and to the spring cycle (Martyrs, St. George's, Easter, Whitsuntide) – ritual actors free the intensity of fertility, making it possible for it to be transferred from the space of nature, to the space of culture, while protecting it from human-daemonic aggressions. This is the implicit message borne by these ceremonials, appropriated by the young actors along the entire pubertal screenplay[47].

There is an intrinsic magic-religious meaning incorporated within these ceremonial gestures. So is the uproar produced by the cortège of the masked, armed with bells, bugles made of wild cherry-tree bark and willow/*răchită* whistles, used precisely for banishing *strigoaie.* Yells and extempore verses accompanying the group of carollers contrast saliently with the muteness of the *Green Man*, whose interdiction to speak is ubiquitous[48]. Then water is being poured, by ceremonial actors, onto villagers, aiming to augment local fertility (human, animal and vegetal), to stimulate animal lactation and people's state of health[49]. Girls in the village are

[43] Teiuş (Valea Mureşului), Fodora (Valea Someşului), Ciceu-Giurgeşti (Gherman 1986: 99, 101-102).

[44] Bărăbanţ (Valea Mureşului), Muncel (Bazinul Someşului) (Gherman 1986: 99 and AEO 2004-2005).

[45] Bucerdea Grânoasă (Gherman 1986: 99).

[46] Mintiu Gherlii (Valea Someşului Mic) (Gherman 1986: 104). At the beginning of the sixties, the last actors of *Păpălugăra* would bury the twigs and branches of the mask in the hill "dealu Tuşichertului", by the road, at the forest skirt of the village (Ambruşan 2012: 174).

[47] *Mutatis mutandis*, in the carols of the youth/ *colindele Junelui* from Southern Transylvania, built on an initiatory narrative mould (the ritual hunt of the Aurochs/ *Boul sălbatic/Bourul* or of the Lion/ *Leul*), similar importance is highlighted by the following isomorphic scenarios: the Youth/ *Junele* (hero of the cynegetic scenario) brings the tied wild beast into the village, while passing through an extra-villan space overflowing vegetal fertility, after the capture/taming of the wild beast. He is freeing the germination power of nature from its daemonic captivity, while tying the daemon-animal who coalesces the mundane fertility, bringing him forth *intra muros,* to the large benefit of the entire human community. He is genuinely transferring *mana* from wild nature into the human perimeter of tamed nature. (Neagota 2015b: 389-402).

[48] In Borzeşti they say explicitly: "Both *Bloaja* and *Mutul* do not utter a single word during the entire ritual: they are both being mute." The Mute/*Mutu* armed with a long rod is defending *Bloaja* from those who try to water him. (Gherman 1986: 99-100)

[49] In our opinion, the general watering in the day of St. George, among members of a same rural community, on the one hand, and the ritual watering from the practices of invoking the rain (part

being watered, even pricked with stinging nettle[50], by members in the cortège of the *Green Man*, and, at times, even by himself[51]. In a village in the Someş basin, there even is mentioned the sprinkling with milk of the masked character, in order to protect the cattle from the *strigoaie*, and to enhance ovine-bovine lactation[52]. A third ritual non-verbal element is the exhibit of the wooden phalus by the *Green Man*, when this latter has a firm gender mark[53]: for example, in Buru, on Arieş Valley, the Mute of *Băbăluda* (male character, pair of feminine *Măriuţa*) is showing his birch-branch-skirt hidden phallus to everyone and especially to maidens and women. The general behaviour of the *Green Men* is licentious, isomorphic with the masks', bearing the ritual role of stimulation of the general fecundity[54].

Some newer situations exhibit the fertilizing meaning, generally concealed in the post-socialist rural contexts. In Muncel, while *Sângeorzul* was being clad in the forest, my question referring to the link between Green George/ *Gheorghe* strolling and carolling the village, and the magical rites for protecting animal fertility, extant in the village (with hip rose and willow), was answered as follows: "When Gheorghe alights in the village, *strigoaiele* lose their power and can no longer steal the milk (magical theft of cow milk – n.n.)." In this context, the gift of the green twig, torn from the vegetal garment of the *Green Man* and received by the hosts in exchange for a small sum or symbolic tax, receives a new significance, undeclared by interlocutors, but implicitly assumed[55]. Moreover, one recurring information within the past few years, when there are left but few active *strigoaie* in the village, sustains our hypothesis: that women suspected to be *strigoaie* do not receive the carolling *Sângeorz* by their courtyards and hide away in the house. In Suarăş, the descent of *Păpălugăra* in the village, together with her loud suite, blowing the

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of the *Paparude* complex from Southern Transylvania and from Southern Romanian provinces along the Danube), on the other hand, are two distinctive ethnological facts, presenting isomorphism because of the common cultural roots, *i.e.* an archaic magical-religious agrarian ideology.

[50] Brăzeşti, Valea Arieşului (Gherman 1986: 99).

[51] "*Gheorghe* enters the houses with maidens in order to be watered, and in Călacea he chases maidens, while they rush to water him all the more." (Călacea, Sălaj county; cf. Inoc on Mureş Valley, and Brăzeşti on Arieş Valley) (Gherman 1986: 100)

[52] "*Păpălugăra* was sprinkled with milk, lest *strigoaie* come to take the milk from the cows." (Suarăş, Cluj county – ap. Ambruşan 2011).

[53] Most often, the *Green Man* has no gender mark for his identity, the maleness being implicit, even when the name has in the majority of cases a feminine form in Romanian (*Păpălugără*, *Băbăludă*, *Borbolatiţă* etc.). Locally, some cases attest the polarised situation of two masked characters with opposite gender marks: *Măriuţa* (she) and *Mutu Băbăluzii* (he), in Buru; *Bloaja* (she) and *Mutu* (he), in Borzeşti; two *Păpălugăre,* in Şoimeni (Cluj county); *Păpălugărele* (she) and *Goţoii* (he), in Codor and Mintiu Gherlii (Cluj).

[54] We speak of the masked figures from/Shrovetide/*Lăsata Secului*, who are said to "unleash the fruit (fertility – n.n.)" when they come to the village (Goruia, Caraş-Severin county, AEO 2010). A similar ritual significance is attributed to the group of the Căluşari, yet here the fecundating function, bound to the performance of the ithyphallic Mute, is subordinated to the apotropaic and iatric dimensions (field observations from Bărăşti, Olt county and Dozeşti, Vâlcea county – Neagota, Benga: AEO 2007 and 2009)

[55] For an ethnographic description of the ceremonial in Muncel, see Neagota, Benga 2009: 410-413.

bugles, was assimilated to the arrival of a salutary army for the benefit of the entire community: bringing *mana* to animals and cornfields and defending from *strigoaie*[56]. We stop here with the observations on the fecundating dimension of the spring masked characters and on the relationship between the masculine ceremonial group and the mythical-ritual complex of fertility, deeply rooted within the popular festive calendar. The comparative accretion of the diachrony of these ethnologic facts is object of another research of cultural archaeology, beyond the objectives of this paper.

A similar ceremonial behaviour is attested in those villages still performing the Romanian variant of *charivari*, the yelling over the village/ *strigatul peste sat/din coastă*[57]. Both forms are being attested, the igneous practices (with multiple magic-religious functionality)[58], as well as verbal *charivari*[59]. The first category encompasses bonfires lit in the night of *Sângeorz* by the group of youth, doubled or not by extempore verses[60], followed or not by the carolling of the vegetal masks on the day of the feast[61]. The custom entails the rolling over the hill of burning wheels,

[56] "They would come (from the forest – n.n.), alighting in the village with bugles, blowing so strongly you would think there was an army advancing. They were coming slowly..." (ap. Ambruşan 2011)

[57] It is a custom performed on different calendar dates (St. Nicholas, Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Shrovetide, St. George, Easter, Ascension, St. John on Midsummer) varying from one region to the next. For a regional cartography, see, *inter alia*, Marian 1994 [1898, 1899, 1901], I: 207-211 şi II, 105-108. Manolescu 2004 [1967]: 141-176, 227-231. Muşlea, Bîrlea 1970: 354-355. Sămărescu 2005: 147-151. For an interdisciplinary approach to the *charivari*-type customs in Europe's popular cultures, see Le Goff, Schmitt 1982.

[58] For the regional cartography of the ritual bonfires see Ghinoiu (coord.) 2002: 221-222, 233-234 (Fires along the year in Banat, Crişana, Maramureş) and 2003: 285-287, 299-300 (Fires along year in Transylvania); Id. 1988: 131-134 (Quenching and lighting fire and light), 168-170 (Return of the spirits of the dead), 174-176 (Lighting fires). For parallels with Europe's folkloric cultures, see Lanternari 1983 [1959]: 101, 165, 175, 183, 237, 249, 253, 326-327 (ritual lighting of fire), 499 (Fire of St. Elmo), 117 (leaping over the fire), 101, 326 (ritual quench of the fire). For a synthesis of ethnological interpretations, see Buttitta 2002.

[59] For a regional cartography of yelling over the village/the hill/*strigatul peste sat/din deal* see Ghinoiu (coord.) 2002: 279-280 (*Yelling over the village* in Banat, Crişana, Maramureş) and 2003: 366-369 (*Yelling over the village* in Transylvania).

[60] In a number of villages, lighting the bonfires and rolling the burning wheels is not accompanied by verbal charivari, yet bonfires themselves had carnivalesque functions: wheels with burning hay lit on the eve of St George (Sălişte de Vaşcău, Bihor county): "They would light wheels of hay and bonfires" – ap. Ghinoiu (coord.) 2002: 279-280); "Wheels of fire" for the New Year (Boarţa, Sibiu county); fires on the eve of St. George (Văsoaia, Arad county – ap. Ghinoiu 2002: 222). In Muncel (Cluj county), the *yelling over the village/strigatul din coastă* and the fire on the hill, active at the present too, target un-married girls alone, to whom real and fictive pairs are being coupled, most often in burlesque terms. In Caila (Bistriţa-Năsăud county), *yelling over the village/strigatul din deal* targets the *mana* witches/*bosorcăile*. To *charivarize* them means to utter a versed imprecation, with apotropaic function, aiming at neutralizing the power of *strigoaie*, reactivated in the night of St. George. (AEO 2004-2017)

[61] In Geaca (Cluj county), yelling over the village/*strigatul din deal* on the night of St. George is not followed by masking. In this village, *Păpălugăra* is made only for the flock gathering/ *Împreunat*, that is, in pastoral beginning of May (close to old-style *Sângeorz*). In Muncel (Cluj), *strigatul din coastă* is the first sequence of the ceremonial complex of Sângeorz, prefacing the strolling and carolling with *Green George/Gheorghe*.

too: forty years ago hay would have been attached to a worn-out cart wheel, put on fire, then rolled down the hill; then came the worn-out tyres, which accrued in time. One isomorphism is salient here, between the burning wheels (cart wooden ones, of yore, and tyres, more recently) and the cart wheels in which *strigoaie* metamorphose, when travelling full speed during their ecstatic journeys[62].

The eve of the feast has a liminal status, in which "the power of the living"/*mana*[63] is being reactivated, and mundane fertility is awaken. This liminality of the night of *Sângeorz* can pursue in the right direction, of utmost creation, or may be detoured or deviated magically, by the acts of *strigoiască* aggression. It should be added that before *Sângeorz*, domestic animals (bovines, ovines, caprines) stay home, in the household, and only afterwards flocks of sheep/goats and herds of cows/oxen are formed, heading to pasture. It is precisely at the moment when they exit the household and are exposed to *strigoaie,* that they may become victims of magical thefts of fertility. Within this social-cultural context, the feast of St. George still holds calendar centrality of uppermost importance for the rural customary economy. We can therefore imagine which may have been the role of the masculine ceremonial group in the defence of mundane fertility, and why were the youth then all ready to tackle the problems of personal and community lives, and ready to get prepared for their own rites of passage (nuptial rites, starting a family etc.)[64].

§ 4. THE ARCHAIC IDEOLOGY OF MUNDANE FERTILITY AND *MANA* AGONISTIC RITES

The goal of the entire ceremonial procedure is strongly linked to the transfer of fertility (the *mana*[65]), from the natural to the cultural realm, a task being accomplished by the ceremonial actors, while also being linked to the defence of this fertility against the human-daemonic aggressors (*strigoaiele*, *bosoarcele* etc.). The ambivalent daemonic character of the Green Man (*Sângeorz/Păpălugă*ră and *Goțoi*) had been already noticed by Traian Gherman in the fifties, when he would distinguish between *Sângeorzul*, a beneficial daemon ("a harbinger of goodness, who will have brought rains and crops in the fields") and *Goțoi*, auxiliary character dressed in rags and tatters[66], with maleficent halo ("maleficent spirit, a revenant

[62] Field information, Muncel, Cluj county (AEO 2004-2017)

[63] Benga 2005.

[64] The fairy-tale hero defends mundane fertility and, when agents from the otherworld destabilize it, he would tackle the journey out-of-this-world, fighting for restoring the *mana* equilibrium.

[65] For a conceptualization of the ritual and narrative mechanisms of the "transfer of fruit between worlds" see Benga 2005: 24, 120-158. For a discussion of the concept of *mana* within Romanian folklore see Pavelescu 1944 and 1945; Benga 2002: 261-280.

[66] In many local records, the *Goțoi* is dressed in tatters, evidently influenced in both clothing and behaving by the *Solomonar*. Both characters – even with different statuses (the *Goțoi* has an exclusively ritual behaviour, while the *Solomonar* is a hero with a mythical-fictional halo) – have a similar thing at stake: the *Goțoi* unleashes the *mana* of the crops and defends animal *mana* from the action of *Strigoaie*, while the *Solomonar* defends the crop of the fields from *Balauri/Vâlve*.

bringing misfortune upon people and their homes, as well as upon their fields and crops")[67]. Yet, beyond the divergent symbolism, the two characters are fairly complementary, belonging to a same morphological class: forest daemons, the metahuman lords of mundane fertility *mana*, which has to be transferred in springtime form its natural reservoir, the forest, to the cultural realm, encompassing the village, the cultivated land and the domesticated fauna[68]. On the other hand, a sharp distinction between *Sângeorz/Păpălugără* and *Goțoi* is mostly inoperative, given the regional name shifts and the local frequent permutations of functions.

Our working hypothesis on the fertilo-phorous character of the festive actors of *Sângeorz,* ought to be nuanced, including older field documents, such as those of Gherman's seminal paper. For example, in village Deleni (Arieș river basin), *Goțoiul* (the actual Green Man) is flanked by two auxiliary characters, always dressed in verdure (*Măreața înțeleaptă/"Haughty the Wisewoman"* and *Mutu cel prost/"Dumb the Dull"*), who help in the screen-play of carolling the village, and by an escort of musicians playing "whistles and tree bark bugles". The announcement of the waits is being made by the *Măreață* character, who is summoning everyone to the wetting: "Rise, people! The Goțoi is coming and should you not pour water on him there'll be no harvest in the field!"[69] Similarly, in Muncel (Someș basin) the auxiliary character collecting the plum brandy/*țuica* and the money, and giving landlords twigs from the Green Man/*Omul Verde*, hails the arrival of *Sângeorz* with the words: "May they who will not steep the *Sângeorz* be never thriving in piiiigs!"[70]. The entrance of the *Green Man* in the village, accompanied by the uproarious cortège, unfolds like an authentic epiphany: the vegetal daemon alights in the village and strolls all over the place, bringing in the warrants of fertility and receiving in return symbolic oblations.

The antagonism between the *Sângeorzi* and *Strigoaiele de mană* does not exhaust in a real combat, because the stake of the carolling of the village is not the full extermination of the *mana* thieves, rather, their neutralization for the duration of the feast and for the entire following stint, when fertility itself of both vegetal and animal world is being rekindled. At any rate, the green twig of *Sângeorz* received by the landlords as an offering is filled with power for the entire length of the year ahead (even if the time stint with maximum aggression potential from the part of fertility daemons is flanked by the spring celebrations and feasts between

[67] Gherman 1986: 109.

[68] We notice here the isomorphism between the Green Man/*Omul Verde* and the forest daemons of the type of The Maiden of the Forest/*Fata Pădurii* or The Mother of the Forest/*Mama Pădurii*, with whom he shares the vegetal dymorphism, and the ruling of *mana* of the more savage nature (like the forest and the vulnerary herbs). The feminine daemons of the forest have an adversative relationship with domestic animals (that is, with the culturally-tied *mana*): "in oral narrative documents from Bucovina and Maramureș, *The Mother* and *the Maiden of the Forest* appear as *mana thieves/hoațe de mană.*" (Neagota 2011: §7.6.4)

[69] Gherman 1986: 110-111.

[70] Muncel (CJ), AEO 2004-2017.

St. George's/*Sângeorz* and Whitsuntide/*Rusalii* or Midsummer/*Sânziene*), therefore being kept in the house by some people, as a precious talisman of *mana*, health, and fruit-bearing for all in the family. The local strolling the village and carolling of *Sângeorz*, with his cortège, aims at restoring the ontic equilibrium of mundane fertility menaced by the *strigoaie*, whose daemonic insatiability throws out of balance the in-between-worlds' *statu-quo*. We mainly refer here to the ecstatic *strigoaie*, vocational – from birth, betrayed by a number of corporeal particularities[71] – but also to those who master the magical technology of *mana* theft[72].

We speak of a grounded antagonism between the good daemons (fertilo-phorous, *i.e.* fertility bearers), ritually reactivated for the duration of the celebration by the masked characters, and the bad daemons (fertilo-vorous, *i.e.* fertility devourers), latent or semi-active along the calendar year, yet risen in the spring, especially between *Sângeorz* and *Rusalii*. This latent landed confrontation is being ritually reactivated in the context of the celebration of *Sângeorz*. Symptomatically, the festive nights of the spring (Easter night, and the eve of all other: *Sângeorz*, *Ispas*/Ascension, *Sânziene*/Midsummer night, *Rusalii*/Whitsunday night) stand out as the foreground for the ecstatic battles between human-daemonic actors (*strigoaiele, bosoarcele, bosorcăile, moroșniţele, moroștețele* etc.), whose stake isn't the victory of one combatant against another, but to maintain the fragile equilibrium of mundane fertility. The consecrated formula "I'm stabbing you, I'm stabbing you not", uttered by ecstatic warriors of the *mana*, translates this ontological finality, of merely "symbolizing the nature of the dispute over *mana*, as well as the symbolic equivalence, in both status and force, between participants in these witch gatherings (...)"[73].

Moreover, Romanian folkloric texts do record, we believe, a genuine cultural stratum, one uncontaminated by intrusive intellectual hermeneutics, a stratum wherein there is no firm ethical polarization of the human-daemonic actors, and where these ones express themselves as ambivalent forces, much in the like of their patron daemons[74]. In the case of ecstatic battles for fertility from South-Eastern area (Friuli, Slovenia) and the Adriatic coast (Istria and the Quarnerine/Kvarnerski Zaljev Islands), ethnologic documents have gone through a hermeneutic filter of medieval theological intelligentsia (the Inquisitors) who felt the need for an ontic and ethic taxonomization, following the model of Late Antiquity theologies

[71] Ioan Augustin Goia told me in 2016 about a woman he had met in village Meseşenii de Sus (Sălaj), while he was field-researching the area for the ethnographic monograph of the Meseş zone. Villagers would tell of that woman to be a *strigoaie*. Confronted by the researcher, she ingenously answered: "when I am awake, I do no harm, but when I'm lost (in trance – n.n.), I know not what I'm doing, what do I know?!"

[72] For the morphologic classes of the *strigoaie de mană* see Benga 2002: 261-280 and 2005: 120-158 (Narrative mouldings of the theme of the transfer of fruit between worlds); cf. the distinction between the two categories of folk witches in the Southern and South-Eastern rural Romania: the inspired witches (*witches fallen amidst the saintly ones*) *vs.* the technical witches (*witches who deal with the devils*) (Neagota 2015a: 73-97).

[73] Benga 2011: 61; cf. Ibid.: 64, 74-75, 78-79.

[74] cf. Benga 2015: 99-129.

(medium and neo-platonic), opposing agatho-daemons *vs.* kako-daemons[75]. Whence, we believe, the polarization of a number of human-daemonic categories, where the difference isn't necessarily one of nature, but of degree: the beneficial entities, Friulian (*Benandanti/Balavants*: Good Walkers)[76] and Istrian (*Krsniki/Kresniki/ Vedavci/Vjesci/Moguti/Zduhaci*)[77], oppose in combat, in a state of ecstasy, corresponding maleficent beings, *streghe/stregoni*, and, respectively, *strigoi* (witches), and *kudlaki* (cf. srb. *Vukodlaki/vrkolaki*: Werewolves)[78]. On the other hand, we must take into account the territorial polarization of these human-daemonic beings[79], affiliated as they are to rural neighbourhood communities, concurring among them in many a way, including economic rivalry[80]. As a matter of fact, evil entities belong generally to the neighbour village, and the resulting ecstatic battles are being consumed in the frontier areas and on liminal spaces. A similar daemonological cartography, yet devoid of the onomastic polarization (all human-daemonic combatants are called alike: *vâlve, strigoaie, moroșnițe, loajnice* etc.), we encounter in some of the Romanian/Vlach villages of Timoc (Serbia)[81], in Romanian Banat region (with regard to events having taken place in the thirties and forties of twentieth century, facts beheld in the memory of elders)[82], and in Central and Northern Transylvania (Western Mountains/Munții Apuseni[83], all the way to Meseș area[84]).

Two cognitive distinct levels interfere here: the mythical and the ritual. The battle is to be fought in mere ritual terms (the withdrawing and hiding of *strigoaie* from the way of *Sângeorz* and his cortège are mostly empirically noticeable by the

[75] Neagota 2015a: 73-97.

[76] Ginzburg 1966. Nardon 1999. Marmai 2017: 55-94, 77-80 (for onomastic dialectal variants).

[77] Copeland 1931: 405-446. Id. 1933: 631-651. Id. 1949: 277-286. Šmitek 1998, 93-118. Bošković-Stulli 2003, 607-638. Kropej 2013: 187-200 (for references on Istria see 197-199). Marmai 2016: 151-165 (Slovenia, Istria and Dalmazia: *Kresniki* and *Vukodlaki*). For the shamanic interpretation see, *inter alia*, Šmitek 2005: 171-198 and Marmai 2016. For a neo-mythological interpretation, where the opposition *krsniki vs. štrige/štriguni* continues the archaic Slavic dualism *Perun vs. Veles*, see Vinšćak 2005: 221–235.

[78] Without trying to compete with Ginzburg's large diffusionist theory, which involves a huge Eurasian space (with its background ideology), we have launched, for the past years, the hypothesis of cultural areas, encompassing the Carpathians – the Balkan Peninsula – the Italian Peninsula and some of the islands – the Alps, based on a number of cultural isomorphisms (Neagota 2012: 79-80). For the present case, our hypothesis aimed to delineate a "Transylvanian-Friulian area, with alpine extensions, characterized by an ecstatic magical-religious complex that manifests attacks to mundane fertility (the magical stealings of *mană*), the ecstatic confrontations between the *strigoii buni* [the good ecstatic witches], *i.e. benandanti* and *strigoii răi* [the evil ones], *i.e. stregoni* and *streghe*, for re-establishing the world's balance and the apotropaic rites/ceremonials for protecting the harvest and the harvesting (the processions / carolling with people masked with grass and tree bark)" (Ibid.)

[79] Symptomatic, in this sense, the possible etymology of the name *kresnik* (< *krst*: a stone sign that used to mark the boundaries of village territory, in Macedonia and Serbia) (Šmitek 2005: 171-198).

[80] The mythical-fictional polarization of the human-daemonic entities could be, in this context, the ritualized expression of territorial or economic disputes between rural communities (Marmai 2017: 163).

[81] Păun Durlić 2013.

[82] Neagota 2010-2016: AEO.

[83] Pavelescu 1945: 65-77 (73-75: for the ecstatic battles of the *loajnice*). Benga 2010.

[84] Goia 1982 and 2016.

attentive observer, rather than explicitly uttered by insiders) yet it is borne among characters belonging to different ontological spheres, having in common the same human condition: *Strigoaiele* are *daemonic* by their mere nature (ontologically & genetically predetermined to their *strigoiesc* condition, bearing also significant bodily signs which betray their human-daemonic liminal status), while *Sângeorzii* are ritual actors with determined duration of activity, and totally free-willed in their choice to bear the mask and to play the character for the duration of the ceremonial, or to being chosen, with their consent, by their fraternity comrades – that is, a temporary fraternity, built exclusively for the festal duration. In other words, as compared to the *Benandanti*, they are temporary *daemonic* agents, ritually invested with this quality. And they fight with the aggressors of fertility, not in a mythical-fictional narratively patterned state of ecstasy, but in the immediate rural reality, in the context of their strolling and carolling the village *intra muros*.

It is a confrontation, unfolding according to a flexible ceremonial syntax, which entails both ritual practices with magic functionality (apotropaic, augural, propitiatory)[85] and carnivalesque behaviours (reciprocal wetting, excessively even; the extempore verses/*strigăturile* which accompany, in a number of villages, the strolling and carolling of the *Sângeorz*). The festive parameters describe a vivid socio-cultural reality, where serious ritualized behaviours are doubled by sparkling ludic acts. Beginning with the extempore verses/*strigăturile* from the eve of the feast-day, and the wake by the fire (within the encoded frame of the yelling over the village/*strigatul din deal*), the entire festive script aims at unveiling the *strigoaie* (without naming them, though) in order to neutralize their offensive actions and to creatively detour their *strigoaie*-specific aggressions, in the name of protection and fruit of the mundane world.

The confrontation *Sângeorzi* ~ *Strigoaie* is borne in symbolic terms, those of a dynamic and complex rituality, in which the serious and the ludic alternate until overlapping, while the fixed structures are being plasticized by unexpected personal initiatives, of a carnivalesque type. After all, the entire *anniversary dramaturgy* of the *Sângeorz* strolling and carolling[86] is being built upon a central theme (reactivation and protection of the fruit and fruit-bearing), which works as a fixed ritual scheme, with ludic improvising added[87]. This ludic aspect is stimulating creativity and impedes on too strict a ritual encoding, which would work as totally mummifying the ceremonial at *Sângeorz*, and therefore, as its pathway to obsolescence. Thanks to it, the rituality and ceremoniality of *Sângeorz* may be reified with each new generation and communitarily re-assumed, as a functional cultural strategy. Hence the new socio-cultural stage of this festive complex, in which the ludic and the

[85] We refer here to a number of aspects, such as: the offering of the green twig, with its multifarious magical valences; the wetting for the health and the fortune of those carolled at Sângeorz; the augmentation of fertility and of animal lactation; the defence of fertility and animal lactation by human-daemonic aggressors; the defence of vegetal fertility.

[86] Benga 2009: 49-65.

[87] On ludicity implicit to rituality/ceremoniality see Huizinga's classical approaches 1977 [1938]: 33-69 and Caillois 1958.

carnivalesque work together to blur the subjacent rituality till its total occultation, altogether with the generational shift and the festal active assumption of the feast by youngsters who no longer participate in the customary economy of fertility. For them, the de-ritualized strolling and carolling the village at *Sângeorz* has become an important calendar guide mark of the mere "popular culture of laughing"[88].

§ 5. EPILOGUE

We have tried to circumscribe partially the composite and heterogeneous stratigraphy of the *Green Man* complex, in the context of the spring ceremonial calendar. The triggers have not been genetic questions[89], rather, our interest in the relations between the cultural levels which interacted all the way to the generation of this ethnologic/historical-religious fact. Hence, our methodology, chosen to suit the intent underlying our research: to reconstitute the long diachrony, and to understand the lengthy fusion of all the heterogeneous components of this phenomenon, to their welding in such organic a ceremonial complex[90]. The principle of this approach is to incorporate diachrony as a *sine qua non* condition for ethno-anthropological knowledge: "a cognitive approach that would involve diachrony as an obligatory dimension of the world, not one we can dispense with."[91]

Our working hypothesis is supporting the profound initiatory structure of spring ceremonials (masked figures at St. George/Ascension/Whitsun/*Sângeorz/Ispas/Rusalii* and the Adorned Ox/*Boul Împănat*), merged within Romanian popular culture in the traditional institution of the male confraternity (*ceata feciorilor*), with ritual engrafts, agrarian-pastoral culture specific. Their relationship is not necessarily a historical anteriority[92], but rather, an epistemic simultaneity and reciprocal intertwining, all the way to complete overlapping, of male puberty initiation rites and of spring ceremoniality[93]. In other words, not a historical filiation of the kind: puberty/specialized initiatory rites → calendar initiatory rites, but rather, a morphodynamic genealogy, where the same cognitive *rules* generate isomorphic ritual screen-plays, in different, epistemic-distinct, cultures/societies. Hence the need for the identification of the *sets of rules* which define the initiatory complex and which (re)combine within isomorphic formulas[94]. For this reason we do not speak of *survivals* of initiations

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[88] Bahtin 1974 [1965].

[89] We are not going to revisit the older criticisms on the obsession of origins within Romanian ethnology (Stahl 1999: 335).

[90] Beyond merely noticing the gradual juxtaposition of socio-cultural levels, we wish to follow what we can from the morphodynamics of ethnological documents, and reach-out for the historical-religious sense of ethnological facts.

[91] Couliano 1992: xii.

[92] Here we point at the Propp-ian theory of tribal initiation rites which may have lent narrativised/story-told initiation rites, in fairy-tales and the like (Propp 1983 [1946]).

[93] Neagota 2011: 349-378; cf. Crețu 1988.

[94] "The cognitive assumption (...) is that a simple set of rules would generate similar results in the minds of human beings for a virtually infinite period of time. (...) Almost all the individual

from the traditional/tribal societies[95], rather, of isomorphic cultural products, kindred scenarios, present in various ritual/ceremonial complexes: rites of the individual/ family/community life and calendar rites. This perspective grants their concomitance within a same society, not their historical succession[96].

The long diachrony is assumed as *historicity* (in Coulianou terms), not as *history* (in Hegelian terms), while the relationship between cultural strata is addressed in terms of morphodynamic, not chronologic, stratigraphy. These temporally cleaved levels overleapt in a syncretic manner to form a coherent conglomerate of ceremonial acts and representations with occulted or forgotten, for the collective memory, significances, deeply rooted within mythical-ritual archaic complexes, celebrated in nodal moments of the calendar (New Year, solstices and equinoxes) and entailing puberty-specific or magical-warrior initiatory practices, and cultic religious elements with agrarian valences.

In this context, the relationship between the various cultural strata within a certain ceremonial complex, such as Romanian *Păpălugăra* is, may be explained not only in terms of historical filiation, but in trans-historical terms as well, that is, in terms of non-historicist mechanisms of transmission, drawing primarily on the long duration of memory structures and on orality, and only in a smaller proportion on written texts. Cognitive and hermeneutic invariants alike, underlying various calendar customs, are rooted, beyond their mental format, in the traditional social-cultural strata, and depend on certain archaic magical-religious ideologies (initiation ritology, the Neolithic culture of fertility), without being necessarily generated by these ideologies. Thus, archaic beliefs and ritual practices are being continuously re-elaborated within folkloric cultures.

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traditions (...) are based on such sets of rules, and these sets are similar to each other to a greater or lesser degree." (Couliano 1991: 9)

[95] An interesting alternative to Tylor's theory on *survivals*, amended by Malinowski (with respect to the functional and systemic character of every cultural fact), was put forward by Mircea Eliade in the thirties of the 20th century, from the perspective of an organicist concept of culture: the status of *living fossils* of a number of "primitive mental forms", stored in the collective memory as oral documents, which document archaic "mental experiences", but are routinely ignored by historians and ethnologists, for their fault of not being *fossilized* yet, in "durable features" (Eliade 1992 [1938]: 65). On the other hand, the same author grasped the dynamics of oral documents, undergoing, in time, the mythification and fictionalization processes of "popular memory", together with de-historicization principles of folkloric creation (1993 [1937]: 25-42 and 1943: 23-24).

[96] At this point, we subscribe to some of the criticisms Lévi-Strauss brought to the Propp-ian explicative model: the choice by Propp of folk-tale, when he neither was ethnologist, nor could he hold sufficient documentary grounds in the field of narrative oral traditions; the theme of a historical priority of myth over folk-tale (according to Levi-Strauss, the two co-exist within a same society and are fairly complementary); "l'obsession des explications historiques", at times conflicting his formalist approach (for Lévi-Strauss, the history of ante-historical civilizations is "pratiquement inaccessible", since "ce n'est pas le passé qui manque [à Propp], c'est le contexte"; the exclusive privilege given to abstract narrative forms, and the neglect of the content is a feeble theoretical premise, since Propp himself re-introduced in his categories of *species* and *sub-species* information on their content. (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 139-173)

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AN INTANGIBLE BUT VERY LOUD HERITAGE: SWEAR WORDS IN SERBIAN

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the genesis and the use of swear words, expressive linguistic units, in the contemporary Serbian language are analysed from the perspectives of a historical and comparative study of the Serbian religion and folklore (Čajkanović 1973), cognitive (axiological) ethnolinguistics (Bratminjski 2011), linguo-culturology (Maslova 2007), and pragmatics (Searl 1991) with the aim of examining their diachronic connection to the mythological, magical, folklore and cultural layers, their reflection in the folk mentality, and their actualisation at the synchronic level. The material for our research, excerpted from Serbian dictionaries of obscene words and expressions (Savić, Mitro 1998b; Šipka 2011; Bogdanović 2003) and the dictionary of jargon words (Andrić 1967; Imami 2007), was systematised on the basis of the formal structure of swear words: /obscene lexeme + object – the subject of swearing/ which are employed through the communication channel by the speaker and the addressee (Jovanović 2017): a) family, b) religion, c) food and drink, d) house and household furniture, e) life and lifestyle, f) animals, g) death, h) natural and cosmic phenomena.
Keywords: swear words, mythology, folklore, culture, the Serbian language.

0. INTRODUCTION

The Serbs, as a Slavic people, have preserved through their language, rituals, beliefs and folklore many ideas about the world from their old homeland. The scope of those ideas, their function and meaning can be determined by certain comparisons with cultural heritage of other Slavic peoples. At the same time, the Serbs are a Balkan people, who has been living for centuries together or in contact with other Balkan, non-Slavic, peoples. Out of that community or contact, a recognisable Balkan model of the world has been created. Among other things, what connects Balkan peoples of Slavic and non-Slavic provenances is a permanent use of swear words on various occasions and by various social classes and their tendency to continually expand the discourse of swearing by creating new obscene expressive units. In support of that, we present the results of a study conducted by a website Cracked in 2008 which states that on the list of the nine "most devastating

insults" in the world, there are three which belong to the peoples from the Balkans: the Bulgarians, the Romanians and the Serbs[1].

Being that swear words have a significant role in everyday communication of the members of these linguistic and cultural communities, swearing is treated as a specific cultural practice with the Serbs. Since swearing is a very common practice which occurs in a wide range of conversational situations in the Serbian language[2], the analysis of swear words will be done within the postulates of cognitive (axiological) ethnolinguistics, linguo-culturology and pragmatics. Since swearing is accepted by the Serbian cultural community, not only as a common informal form of communication and an expression of emotions and psychological states, but also as a specific cultural practice, tradition, and even as a part of a national identity, we believe that the practice of swearing is some kind of intangible cultural heritage of the Serbs which is based on the foundations of mythological and folklore layers. The aim of our paper is to present and interpret an extremely rich oral heritage in order to understand it better and to accept and preserve it as such for future generations.

1. THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND CORPUS

The problem of expressiveness, that is, emotion and affection which encourage the use of obscene lexis in language has been the subject of many studies in the Slavic world, which have been based on the solid theoretical bases (Savić, Mitro 1998b; Bogdanović 1998; Dešić 1998; Sikimić 1998; Ristić 2004; Šipka 2011; Jovanović 2017). However, to date, there has not been any proposal for a unique theoretical-methodological approach, being that previous studies so far have not been defined only by the phenomenon of expressiveness, which, in our case, are swear words as expressive linguistic units, but also by other linguistic phenomena. By analysing almost all linguistic levels – morphological, derivational, semantical, syntactic and discursive – the problems of swearing in the modern Serbian language has been uncovered through the prism of different approaches to this linguistic phenomenon: traditional-structural, general linguistic, socio-linguistic, pragmatic and communicative. In relation to the aforementioned theoretical frameworks and methods, swear words have been approached from a completely different viewpoint by integrating them into a hybrid theoretical-methodological framework conceptualised on the ranges and postulates of cognitive (axiological) ethnolinguistics (Bratminjski 2011) oriented towards the search for culture, mythology and folklore in the language, in the semantic layer of linguistic forms, linguoculturology, which explores the synchronic relationship between language and culture, live communication processes, the relationship between language and mentality of a people in this

[1] Ian Cheesman, *The 9 Most Devastating Insults From around the World*, May 20, 2008, www.cracked.com/article_16275. Accessed on February 14, 2014.

[2] The Indo-European language which belongs to the group of the South-Slavic languages.

moment (Maslova 2007) and pragmatics, whose task is to examine the use of swear words in speech by placing them into the frameworks of speaking acts. When it comes to the corpus, it consists of the examples of swear words which have been excerpted from the Serbian dictionaries of obscene words and expressions by Danko Šipka (2011), Nedeljko Bogdanović (2015), Svenka Savić and Veronika Mitro (1998), as well as from the Serbian dictionaries of slang by Dragoslav Andrić (1967) and Petrit Imami (2007).

2. ON SWEAR WORDS

The use of expressive lexis in language, in our case swear words, according to S. Ristić and I. Jovanović (Ristić 2004: 19; Jovanović 2017) is conditioned by the following factors: language form (more characteristic for spoken than written language), communication sphere (characteristic for informal speech), speech character (specific for emotive and not neutral speech), social characteristics of communicators (age, level of culture, education, upbringing, different types of idiolect and social-group idioms, being that some dialects of the Serbian language are characterised by extreme expressivity which is not the case with the standard Serbian language).

The term *psovka* (and the verb *psovati*) has an interesting etymology in the Serbian language. Unlike, for example, the English term *to swear* and *swear word* (from Old English *swerian*, to take an oath, from Proto-Germanic **swarjan*, from Proto-Indo-European root **swer-*, to speak, talk, say)[3], or French *jurer* and *juron* (from Latin *jurāre*, to take an oath) (Dauzat et al. 1964; Divković 2006), the Serbian term is metaphorical. Skok and Uspenski establish an etymological correlation with the noun '*pas*' (a dog), but also mention a probable connection with the verb *pišati* (to piss) (Skok 1972: 611-612; Uspenski 1994: 98).

In the light of diachronic studies of swear words, we point out a Russian semiotician, Boris Uspenski (Uspenski 1994: 53–128) who believes that a swear word is primarily characterised by tabooism, formulaicity and archaism, which suggests that it was a part of a ritual anti-behaviour whose role was to banish impure forces. Based on the Slavic ethnographic and historical sources, it is evident that swear words have been an integral part of a whole series of rituals: marital, agrarian, processional, occasional (Uspenski 1994: 57, 64-65).

M. Mandić and Lj. Đurić believe that the basis of a swear word is the myth on the holy marriage of heaven and earth, which leads to fertilisation, pregnancy and, finally, fruit-bearing. The role of the primary subject is the God of Heaven – *Gromovnik*, and the role of the object is Mother Earth, which can also be embodied in the Slavic goddess Mokoš (Mandić, Đurić 2015: 307).

At the synchronic level, in a Serbian dictionary, a swear word is defined as "a rude, insulting word (or an established group of words) used in anger, fury (or without a reason), which is usually directed at someone as an insult" (Nikolić 2007: 1090).

[3] www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=swear. Accessed on February 15, 2014.

Linguists S. Savić and V. Mitro (Savić, Mitro 1998b: 15) provide more extensive and more precise definitions. Swear words are "recognisable stereotypical forms, expressed explicitly or covertly, with an extreme frequency, dependent on the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors". They are used for expressing a certain speech habit, an attitude or an emotional relation towards a real or an imaginary interlocutor, towards oneself or some value:

> A swear word is one form of an expressive (a form of speech act) which is used to express a different (predominantly bad) conversational habit, a (predominantly rigid) attitude and a(n) (predominantly aggressive) emotion of a speaker towards his/her interlocutor (Savić, Mitro 1998b: 8-9).

In the Serbian language, a swear word is almost always based on the "abnormal imaginary sexual act, unfeasible in normal life (*I fuck you in the head/ in the neck...*[4]) and the obscene quality of the swear word is proportional to the abnormality of the sexual act which is formulated and hinted at by the swear word" (Bogdanović 1998: 8)[5]. However, because of this abnormality and sometimes extremely violent character of the sexual act, Serbian swear words do not have an erotic nor pornographic component. The sexual act is rather a sort of "weapon" which is primarily used to insult someone.

Despite the fact that swear words are proscribed linguistic material, a sort of taboo, there is an increase in the study of swear words in the Serbian language[6]. This situation opens the possibility of an attempt to systematise and evaluate this linguistic material, and therefore the possibility for its further study. There is not only a large concentration of these words and expressions in everyday speech, but also their diversity and vividness, and different contexts of their use and the level of vulgarity, that is, obscenity; however, it seems that their anthropological and historical aspects are not emphasised enough, that is, the role which swear words as products have, but also as witnesses of a certain period, culture and society. Being that many Serbian swear words are very old, that they are transferred from one generation to another as a kind of oral tradition, and that at the same time the new ones, which correspond to historical, social, economic and political opportunities in which the members of the Serbian community live, develop, swear words are indeed a part of an intangible heritage. Through them, certain habits and customs are discovered, the affiliation to certain social, ethnic or religious groups, taboos, current value systems within a society, as well as the value systems which used to be valid in a society. In the Serbian language, swear words break taboos, and, according to Nedeljko Bogdanović,

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[4] It is of the utmost importance to point out here that for the purpose of this paper swear words have been translated literally into English in order to clearly present the original lexical items.

[5] The most frequent adverbial phrases of place next to the obscene verb include the female sex organ, male sex organ, *bottom, mouth*, but also: *the back, nose, ears, brain, eye/eyes, arm, flank, appendix, tit, liver* and *heart*.

[6] To review previous research on swear words in the Serbian language on the comparative and contrastive level see the following authors and papers: Ristić 2010, Jovanović 2015b, Jovanović 2016b, Jovanović 2017. The book by Ilse Ermen, published in German, is also relevant (Ermen 1996). On swear words in Serbian from the perspective of translation studies, see Đurin 2016: 77-95.

they encompass all that was, is and will be in one's life (Bogdanović 1998: 10). Swear words are, therefore, guardians of the past.

Swearing is primarily the manner of insulting one's conversational partner and it always opposes a certain value, something that is important to the conversational partner at whom the swear word is directed. Since swear words are very common in the speech culture of the Serbs, and there are a lot of them, the authors of this paper will focus only on those swear words which refer to sex, sexuality and sexual act, and they are the most numerous.

The basic fund of obscene words which occur in Serbian swear words with sexual connotation consists of: the verb *jebati (to fuck)*, and nouns *pička (cunt, pussy)*, *kurac (cock)*, *dupe (ass)*. It is necessary to highlight that these words in the Serbian language have a large number of synonyms which also represent central components of swear words and which have developed through metaphorical or metonymical copying[7].

Swear words in the Serbian language usually have the form of a sentence with the verb in the personal form (optative, imperative, present, future), and they occur in several syntactic structures which are further explained in the papers by Danko Šipka (2011) and Ivan Jovanović (2015a, 2016b, 2017).

Although the basic communicative plan of a swear word is conflict speech, and, therefore, its primary role is to insult the addressee, Serbian swear words also have many other functions. They do not have to be directed to a clearly defined addressee, and in this case they are not insulting, but they represent the expression of a psychological state of anger, helplessness, revolt, resignation, joy, surprise etc. Many swear words, although very harsh and rude, are not only unoffending, but they are even funny[8].

Serbian swear words are mostly made of two constituents: a fixed one which is a vulgar verb, explicit or implicit, and a conjugated one which is structured by pronouns, nouns, adjectives, adverbs. Such configuration enables an easy and entirely natural creation of new swear words, because, according to situations and one's mood, the changeable element is replaced by a new one. This changeable element belongs to different lexical domains.

3. FAMILY

The most common lexemes which are placed next to the obscene verb in Serbian swear words are terms for family members, above all the noun *mater* (*mother*) and its numerous synonyms: *majka, mama, mamica, majčica, nana, keva*, and, therefore, in the Serbian culture community, swear words *Jebem ti mater! (I fuck your mother!)* and *Jebem ti mater u pičku! (I fuck your mother in her cunt!)*

[7] For other lexemes of the obscene verbs in the Serbian language and their synonyms, see Šipka 2011: 35-36, 237-252.

[8] To review previous research on the function of swear words and their non-linguistic aspect in the Serbian language, see Ristić 2010: 201-204, 209-210.

are considered the greatest and the most terrifying insults. Except the *mother*, swear words often include *sister, wife, child* or *children*, especially *daughter*, but very rarely *son* and almost never *brother*. *Father* is also very rarely the object of an obscene verb in the Serbian language.

The Serbs also insult one another through the members of the extended family (*aunt*, *sister-in-law*, *mother-in-law*, *grandmother*, and even *great grandmother*), however, since those swear words often contain rhymes, they lose their insultness and turn into humorous mocking songs[9].

Besides blood relation, swear words also insult a specific form of relationship, which is characteristic for the Serbian culture: *godparenthood*. However, a male individual, *godfather*, is never offended, who is a specially selected person who holds the child and names him/her during the child's baptism in church and who is also the first witness during the wedding process. Only female individuals of this relationship, such as *kuma (godmother* or *goddaughter)* and *kumica* (the affectionate term for *godmother* or *goddaughter)*, godfather's wife, godfather's daughter, and a female godchild are insulted. The same principle is present with the second important person who is the witness during the traditional wedding custom, *stari svat* (bridesman). An imaginary sexual act is performed only upon a female person, *starosvatica* (bridesmaid), or, upon the wife of the bridesman.

In a large number of swear words, family occurs as a whole. The speaker insults the addressee by attacking his/her entire family, without trying to name individual members. Therefore, those who are insulted represent the addressee's: *everyone on the list, everyone, everyone that he/she has and will have, everyone alive and dead, everyone alive in the world, everyone that his/her heart loves, everyone in the crowd, including young and old, everyone in the house, everyone in the family who wears a skirt,* etc. However, despite such complete generalisation and viewing one's family only as one entity in time and space, such swear words can refer to two time plans: the future and the past. The object of an obscene verb can be the addressee's descendants: *I fuck your offspring/ those who have not been born yet/ everyone all the way to the grandchildren*. In the same manner, and these swear words are more numerous, the addressee's origin is insulted: *I fuck your lineage/ breed/ sort/ family and the one who created it/ all your dead ones/ your origin/ your family tree/ your seed and clan/ your germ/ your blood/ your brood/ everyone up to the fourth generation,* etc.[10]

Based on the lexicon and the frequency of use, it is clear that in the Serbian culture the cult of the mother is very prominent, as well as the cult of the sister[11]. In general, Serbian swear words reveal extensive significance which the family has for the members of this community. This family is still patriarchal to a large extent, because, above all, swear words are used to attack its female members. Šipka sees this as the expression of the patriarchal Balkan culture:

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[9] *Jebem ti tetku na rešetku, strinu na violinu/na ledinu, ujnu u kujnu, babu uz tarabu* etc.

[10] Cf. Bogdanović 1997: 10.

[11] Cf. Šipka 2011: 73; Ristić 2010: 198.

> [...] if we pay attention to the terms for sexual intercourse, we see androcentricity of metamorphic extensions – they are, as a rule, based on the active role of men. In addition, in those metaphors we can also notice another characteristic of the Balkan patriarchal culture – violence (Šipka 2011: 45-46)[12].

In the same manner, however, a relatively small number of male members of the family upon which the verbal sexual act is performed could also point to the fear of homosexuality which is still a taboo to a great extent in this culture.

A significant number of swear words which include all family members indicates that family is viewed as a firm, indivisible unity, which can also be a reflection of the Balkan culture whose members mostly lived in large family communities almost up to the mid-twentieth century. However, what is pointed out the most by these swear words is the relationship between the past and the future, that is, between origin and posterity. A lot of swear words which insult the origin of the addressee could highlight the cult of ancestors, for which Veselin Čajkanović proved to have a very significant place in the Serbian culture, in both pre-Christian and Christian eras (Čajkanović 1973)[13].

In the following swear words – *I fuck all your dead!* and *I fuck all your living and dead!* – the old custom of calling upon ancestors could be recognised. In war, especially in the times of great danger, both living and dead heroes were called for help, because there was a belief that deceased ancestors helped their fellow tribesmen and descendants[14]. Surely, a swear word would then represent the opposite to this type of calling, because it is used for insulting the addressee's ancestors, and in that way their power and strength are being taken away. Other lexemes which also occur in these swear words (*lineage, breed, sort, blood, origin, family tree, seed and clan, germ, brood*) could direct to the same cult of ancestors which is denied to the addressee by the swear word. The lexeme *blood*, however, could have two meanings in swear words. The first one is blood relation, a blood connection, which connects the addressee to his/her ancestors and the family, and the second is a religious offering. Being that the mythic ancestors, but also common deceased people, members of the family, were considered domestic deities, they were offered sacrifices, out of which blood was definitely the most valuable, and it was later on replaced with red wine.

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[12] Bogdanović (1997: 9) also notices this patriarchal, male principle: "Our practice of swearing is ruled by phallocracy. All our swear words celebrate the cock! A particular expression of phallocratic tendencies occurs in swear phrases in which the reality revolves around the phallus as the supreme factor of establishing order."

[13] Veselin Čajkanović (1881-1946) was a Serbian classical scholar, philosopher, ethnologist, religious history scholar, and Greek and Latin translator. Čajkanović fought in both Balkan Wars and in World War I. In 1919 he returned to Belgrade to resume his work as a professor at the University and continued to teach during World War II and the Nazi occupation. Because of that, he was dismissed by the Communist regime in 1945, and died in 1946. Almost forgotten, Čajkanović's collected works were not published until 1994. His research is mainly about the Serbian folklore, mythology and religion studies. For a general overview of Serbian mythology, religion and folklore, see Čajkanović 1973; 1994; 1995. For fragments of Čajkanović's works in English, see Živković 1996; Čajkanović 1998.

[14] More on this in Čajkanović 1973: 237-240.

Godfatherhood, a mystical blood relation, is also related to the cult of ancestors:

> The godfather has an unusually prominent role in the domestic cult. He has very important duties in the most important moments from that cult: at birth (that is, naming a child), at ceremonies in puberty ("hair-cutting godfatherhood" – when the godfather cuts a boy's hair for the first time), at a wedding and when a revenge has to be calmed down. [...] The ceremony (especially during a wedding) is complicated, but some conclusions can be made out of it, such as that the godfather is a *mediator* between the living and the dead – the deceased *ancestors*, who are interested in everything that happens in their family, and who have to be asked for approval, a permission, for every change in family relations (Čajkanović 1973: 162).

When it comes to domestic deities, the godfather receives a certain divine respect, so that godfatherhood becomes a relation given by God, for which, however, the same rule of exogamy is applied as in blood relation. The institution of the godfatherhood is very old[15], but it is still stable and very alive today in the Serbian culture. The godfather is a taboo, and that is why he is not present in swear words. The androcentric Balkan culture allows only insulting the female member of the family, with whom this mystical blood relation has been established.

4. RELIGION

Except through the family and origin, the verbal assault on the addressee in Serbian swear words is also done by means of religion. For historical and political reasons, Islam has often been the subject of these swear words. Although they are used frequently, these swear words are not numerous or diverse, but they are mostly reduced to disrespecting (through the sexual act) a mosque, a khwaja, the Koran, the act of bowing down, the Muslim ritual of circumcision and Muslim covered women.

The largest number of swear words with religious connotations in the Serbian language refers to Christianity. Therefore, the subject or the object of the obscene verb can be *God, Jesus* (his *blood, wounds, skin*), *church* (*monastery, place of worship, house of God*), *synod, holy water, church bell*, etc. Swear words which are directed at Catholicism are not numerous, and they are reduced to insulting *the Pope* (*Fuck the Pope!* or *May the Pope fuck you!*) and *the Vatican* (*Fuck the Vatican!*). On the contrary, there are many more swear words which are directed towards Orthodox Christianity, which seems paradoxical, because the Serbs are Orthodox Christians. Therefore, the imaginary sexual act in the swear word can be performed by: *Patriarch, metropolitan, priest, bishop, synod* and *saints* who protect Serbian families. In the same manner, they can also perform the function of the direct object of the obscene verb[16].

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[15] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 338: "The fact that the word for godfather is, in such a form, more or less a mutual Slavic word (Serbian, Russian, Polish, Bulgarian), and even Lithuanian and Latvian [...] proves that the institution is really quite old and in any case pre-Christian".

[16] For example: *I fuck your saint! May the Patriarch fuck your mother! I fuck your synod! I'll fuck all your saints!*

A high number of swear words with religious connotations and their frequent use in everyday speech lead to the conclusion about the negative relationship towards religion, the Serbs' tendency to blaspheme, which can be explained by a multi-decade communist regime in which they lived, but this explanation can be only partial. Namely, swear words with religious connotations are very old and most of them appeared many years before the communist era; they are Christian or even pre-Christian.

Veselin Čajkanović determined that, in many Serbian expressions, the word *God* occurs in the meaning of ancient, pre-Christian god[17]. Most likely, this is also the case with swear words in which the word *god* occurs most often, whether as the subject (*May God fuck you!*), or as the object of the obscene verb (*I fuck your god!*). Swear words in which the word *God* occurs have many variants which could indicate the fact that this is not a Christian God but the old one, a pagan god. This is supported by the swear words *May the God of all gods fuck you*! According to Čajkanović, this *God of all gods*, summus deus in the old Serbian religion, was *Dabog* (*Dajbog*), the god of the dead, the god of the lower world (Čajkanović 1973: 440). Besides this, *Dabog* was also, according to Serbian beliefs, a national god, the founder of the entire people, so the swear words *May God, the father, fuck you!* could also refer to this function that he performs.

The pair of gods from the old Slavic pantheon can also be seen in Serbian swear words. The lexemes *white God, heavenly God, gracious God, dear God* could refer to *Belobog* (*Whitegod*), the god of the upper world, the god of the living. His complementary couple, *Crnobog* (*Blackgod*), the god of the lower world and the dead, is also visible (although not so clearly) in the Serbian swear words: *May the furious god fuck you!*, God of the wild temper, violent, warrior God, horseman God and God the executioner who takes a man's soul to the lower world (Čajkanović 1973: 356-357). The Slavic Crnobog occurs in Serbian swear words and in the lexemes *devil* and *satan*, which can also be the subject or the object of the obscene verb in swear words. Čajkanović does not believe that the Slavic Crnobog (and Serbian Dabog) is identified with the devil, evil demon, because he is black[18]. His identification with the devil represents a Christian interpretation, because the Christian church, in its fight against paganism, has always attacked the supreme god first[19].

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[17] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 445: "The old god is present in expressions "I swear you by God", "receive the God" (with the same meaning that we have in the formula "I swear you by God") and, finally, in all expressions in which God and Saint John are mentioned [...]" For a general overview of Slavic mythology, see Léger 1901; Rybakov 1994; Dixon-Kennedy 1998.

[18] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 349-350: "Black deities do not have to be evil deities. They could have got that nickname by some of their *material* trait; therefore, after taking into consideration the analogue cases from other religions, we can claim that those are deities whose *territory* or *realm*, is black and dark, and which, accordingly, as a rule, have black *outer appearance* [...] Therefore, the "Black God" is named after his territory and probably after his outer appearance: he is a god of the *lower world*, and that is why he is black; [...]. Later on, when Slavic Crnobog was deposed and for various reasons identified with the devil [...], he could have become an evil demon; however, originally, his name was not related to such associations, and he had only been a "black" god χατ' □ξοήν and nothing more: as such, he was obviously nothing else than the greatest god of the lower world, the Slavic Dis pater."

[19] More on the devil in the old Serbian religion in Čajkanović 1973: 399-409.

Serbian swear words also testify about the existence of the "triple" God: *I fuck your three gods!* This is not an unusual occurrence in those religions and mythologies which recognise deities with three heads or with limbs and organs that are multiplied three times. With old Serbs, such deity was Trojan (derived from the number three), a god with three heads, a night god, who is, according to Čajkanović, another representation for the old Serbian God of the dead[20]. In swear words, this triplicity is multiplied, so the object of the obscene verb can also be *three hundred gods* or *three hundred and three gods*.

Besides god, Serbian swear words can also contain saints – patrons of Serbian families. In the Christian era, these patron saints most likely replaced a former mythic ancestor[21]. Most often, they mention *Saint Ilija, Saint Jovan, Saint Nikola* and *Saint Đorđe*, for which Čajkanović determined that they took over the functions of the supreme god in Serbian paganism, the God of the lower world[22]. Besides these "most popular" saints, the subject and the object of the obscene verb in swear words are often *Saint Petka* and *Saint Paraskeva*, and rather often *all saints* are in swear words, without naming them individually. According to Čajkanović, this collective name is what proves the strong connection of the Christian saints with the pagan gods:

> The very word *saints* (*sveci*), if used collectively, can mean two things. This is either a meeting, a *gathering* of certain saints (usually this includes those who are the greatest and the most popular: Saint Nikola, Saint Ilija, Saint Petar, Saint Aranđeo, Saint Đorđe, Saint Pantelija, Blažena or Blaga or Ognjena Marija, Saint Petka or Saint Nedelja), [...]; or it simply signifies the *plurality* of "saints", without any closer sign, even without any allusion to which or what kind of saints those are [...]. Finally, the word *saint* in singular form can signify a *domestic* saint – *slava* or the *Patron Saint's Day* [...]. Out of all understandings about saints, chronologically and genetically the oldest one is the collective understanding. The very fact that saints appear only in the plural form is enough to prove their old and primitive characteristics: indeed, the most primitive demons usually appear in the plural form [...]. "Saints" in this collective meaning are nothing else than *the deceased* or *the ancestors*: such saints dwell in the river, and a sacrifice is offered to them by a woman who cannot bear children in order to maintain her pregnancy [...]; they bring hales and storms, and control celestial phenomena [...]; they can cause diseases [...] – and these are the traits and functions characteristic of ancestors and the deceased [...]. These are all, of course, pagan and not Christian ideas (Čajkanović 1973: 316-317).

[20] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 357-364

[21] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 239, 309: "We know from religious studies that each deity has its own territory, its own cult and its legends. The gods from the old Serbian paganism were certainly no exception in this matter; they also had their territories and functions, and people prayed to them and offered sacrifices, and different beliefs, legends and cult rituals were related to them. What happened, however, with all that when the Serbs abandoned paganism and converted to Christianity? Again, with the help of religious studies, we know for sure that these things do not vanish so easily, and that, among them, the cult rituals and beliefs are particularly resistant. When the Serbs converted to Christianity, all this continued to live, only now it received a Christian interpretation, and attached itself to certain individuals from the Christian circle. Therefore, there are reasons to believe that cults and traditions, which used to be related to old gods, now transferred, more or less, to other supernatural personalities, first of all – today's patron saints."

[22] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 328-334 and 365-368.

Out of all this, it is clear how important the role of deceased ancestors was in the Serbian culture (and this role has been completely preserved even today), so it comes as no surprise that swear words include also the religious holidays from the cult of ancestors. Those are, first of all, *Zadušnice*, and then *Poklade*, that is, *the White Sunday*, a holiday which preserves the old custom of processions (a procession includes people with masks, sooty faces, covered with animal hides), which are part of the cult of the dead, that is, the cult of the ancestors, and whose participants are, in fact, demons[23].

In Serbian swear words there is another important religious holiday (it is not pan-Orthodox), the Patron Saint's Day: *slava, krsna slava, krsno ime* (variants for *slava*). According to Čajkanović, this holiday also has its roots in paganism:

> Our people has recognised and it still recognises today the holiday of the hero, i.e. a mythic ancestor, and this is the most important holiday in the private cult – our *slava*, the Patron Saint's Day: and a mythic ancestor is nothing else than the representative, the *pleroma* of ancestors of a tribe. A mythic ancestor is a local chthonic deity, while the god of the lower world belongs to the entire people: even when there were holidays which celebrated heroes, there could also be the holiday of the highest chthonic god [...] (Čajkanović 1973: 419).

This holiday of the supreme god in the Serbian paganism existed indeed, and today it is called *Christmas*. Čajkanović believes that Christmas has pagan origins, and that the Christian church accepted it, gave it its own interpretation and some details from the Christian cult[24]:

> Christmas, the way the Serbs celebrate it today, with a Yule log, straw, clucking, sacrificing a pig, Christmas bread called *česnica*, visiting a spring or a well, *položajnik* (the first person who visits the family on Christmas Day), with various kinds of sorcery and divination and many other rituals, represents a holiday from *our old religion* [...]. As a holiday from our old religion and, besides our Patron Saint's Day and Đurđevdan, our most national holiday, Christmas is, above all, a holiday from the cult of ancestors who are offered a chance to feed and warm up on that day (or during those days, because the holidays from paganism usually last several days) (Čajkanović 1973: 219).

By analysing ritual songs, beliefs and customs, Čajkanović determined that, on Christmas Day, people actually awaited an epiphany, the personal arrival of a certain great deity (Čajkanović 1973: 220). This deity certainly could not have been a Christian god; therefore, Čajkanović concludes that:

> [...] an old Serbian holiday which preceded Christian Christmas and which continued to live on, in folk rituals and beliefs, was the holiday which glorified ancestors and the god of the dead, who was also the greatest national god. In such circumstances, it is understandable that, besides the Patron Saint's Day, Christmas has still remained the greatest and the most popular holiday for Serbian people (Čajkanović 1973: 223).

Being that it has such great significance, it is quite natural that Christmas often occurs in Serbian swear words (*I fuck your Christmas! May Christmas fuck you! I fuck your mother on Christmas Day!).*

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[23] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 282: "These are, in fact, incarnated ancestors, whose souls, as we know, gladly appear in different animal forms".

[24] More on Christmas in Čajkanović 1973: 191-208, 219-228.

Besides God, saints and religious holidays, the subject or the object in the abnormal sexual act, which is expressed through a swear word, can also be different objects and terms related to religion. There are those which are entirely Christian (*gospel*, *liturgy*), but there are also those which are general and which refer to the further past, to the time of paganism (*faith*, *altar*, *prayer*, *religious procession*, etc.). Among the last ones, there can also be a *cross*, which has a pre-Christian origin and represents a primitive image of an anthropomorphic deity. Such crosses can be found in houses (on the eastern wall, next to an icon), in the middle of a settlement or among the fields, and with the coming of Christianity they have undergone changes in two directions: „[...] they were either Christianised, and received a proper form of a cross, or they kept their pagan character, but, like all deities from the pagan times, they were degraded (at least concerning their rank and task, but not form), and they have become today's *scarecrows* (Čajkanović 1973: 54)".

Another, apparently entirely Christian symbol which is present in Serbian swear words, could also have its pagan explanation – a *bell* – because demons and deities announce their arrival by bells (Čajkanović 1973: 286).

The institution of fasting, which occurs in Serbian swear words, is also partially a leftover from the old religion[25]. Fasts which are related to holidays which originate from the old cult of ancestors are surely pre-Christian. This old fast probably originates from the funerary customs which forbid putting anything into one's mouth (food or drink) in the imminent presence of a dead person, because this could hide the soul of the deceased person (Čajkanović 1973: 292). The ban on eating animal meat comes, again, from the belief that in certain periods of the year the souls of the dead have great freedom of moving, so they can enter any animal[26].

Besides personality, customs, objects and terms which are entirely Christian (Jesus, blood of Jesus, Jesus' wounds, skin of Jesus, dead Christ, Our Lady, Virgin Mary, God-bearer, Mother of God, Saint Virgin Mary, gospel, liturgy, churches, monasteries, Orthodox Christian priests), Serbian swear words also reveal personalities from paganism, and customs, beliefs and objects which were used in the old cult and rituals. They received Christian appearance a long time ago, but their source was primarily pagan; therefore, the expressions in which they occur, even though they belong to a vulgar and proscribed speech (and because of it), keep these remains of our distant past.

5. FOOD AND DRINK

In Serbian swear words, the role of the subject or the direct object of the verb which signifies a sexual act can be occupied by animals, food and drink, house, life, death, moral traits, and cosmic phenomena. These swear words appear

[25] More on fasting in Čajkanović 1973: 289-295.

[26] Such a fast probably originates from the Indo-European period. Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 295: "In this way the fast was established, that is, the ban on eating meat in those time periods when the dead are on the move. It is very possible that people were familiar with such a ban in the Indo-European period."

meaningless at first, absurd, and often funny, but they also reveal to a large extent the beliefs and customs from old times.

In the old Slavic religion, food had strong magic properties, and it was believed that it attracted deities and demons, that is, ancestors' souls:

> There are more ways to attract and bond deities and demons to one place. Besides prayers and taking oaths [...], the safest means, for example, is sacrifice in the form of food. Deities and demons gather around the food (Čajkanović 1973: 173).

The significance of ritual eating, especially at feasts during certain holidays and festivities, point out many swear words in which the obscene verb occurs next to the lexemes from this domain: *stewed vegetables*, *small dinner*, *soup*, *small bite*, *spoon with which you eat*, *meal*, *gruel*, *bowl from which you eat*, *dining table*[27], *salt*[28], etc. When it comes to drink, swear words most often mention *wine*, and then *grapevine*. Wine and drinking, especially during holidays from the cult of ancestors, have a ritual character:

> Different sacrifices were offered to the gods of the lower world and divine ancestors; we will mention only those with the highest cost. Underground demons particularly like blood, because blood is life, and the dead can only regain consciousness if they taste blood. [...] However, since blood is expensive, and the dead search for it often, a substitution for it was found in (red) wine. Pure, unmixed wine is given to dead souls instead of blood; it is enough to mention our custom to spill pure wine over one's grave, whereby, during communion, which is for the living, the wine is diluted with water (Čajkanović 1973: 92-93).

Wine is, therefore, a kind of sacrifice which has been offered to dead ancestors during collective feasts in the old religion[29].

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[27] A dining table (*sofra*) is related to the feast and the sacrifice in the form of a meal dedicated to ancestors, during which many different meals are eaten, because there was a belief that every deceased person on that world had a dining table in front of him/her on which there was only the food and drink which the living gave for their souls on earth. Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 266.

[28] There was a belief that deities and demons enter people's houses as guests; therefore, different customs had developed for hosting a guest. The guest's shoes were taken off, his feet were washed, he was served a meal, and a woman from that house was made available for him for satisfying his physical needs, and all that was done in order to make a pact with the guest (who was maybe a deity). This custom is partially preserved even today – the guest has to be offered bread and salt – although its genuine meaning has been lost. Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 145: "Inevitable offers which are given to the guest are bread and salt [...]; bread and salt, however, as items which have a strong divine power in them, were used in the old Jewish religion for making a pact [...]."

[29] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 203-204: "Namely, it is believed that the deceased also participates in this feast, so one place at the table is reserved for him/her. On this occasion, wine is given to the deceased in a particularly solemn form: it is dedicated to him/her for "the soul to find peace", or "in his/her glory", and the participants of the feast drink it. This way of sacrifice, sacral drinking on his/her behalf, exists (usually under the name "*zdravica*") in all important moments from the cult of ancestors, at *daćas* and *slavas*, which are, as we have already mentioned, a commemoration of the deceased ancestors. [...] All the food and drink that is consumed at *daća* and *slava* is dedicated to the deceased, and he/she receives it indirectly. The more people eat and drink, the better for the deceased. [...] "It is good" when someone gets drunk because, in that case, the ancestors, in whose honour we drink, are satisfied, and therefore, they will return love by rewarding us with prosperity in the following year. The fertility of people, livestock and fields depends on ancestors."

The food which is mostly mentioned in swear words is *bread*, in its numerous variants (*hleb*, *leb*, *lebac*, *lepče*, *kru*, *kru koji jedeš*, *krušna mrva*, *krušac*, *lepinja*), then the ingredients from which bread is made (*white wheat*, *corn*, *yeast*), as well as the oven for baking bread (*krušna peć*, *furuna*), and the place where bread is kept (*lebarnik*). Besides this, swear words are also aimed at special types of ritual bread – *kolač*, *pogača* and *česnica* – which have a special role today in the ritual feasts of the Serbian culture. Veselin Čajkanović believes that *kolač* and *pogača* (kinds of bread) originally represented a sacrifice which was offered to the supreme god and ancestors' souls, because this bread was eaten at collective feasts in the glory of the dead and was offered to guests when they visited one's home, because it used to be believed that each guest can be an epiphany of the deceased deified ancestor (Čajkanović 1973: 149). Among these types of ritual bread, a special place is given to *česnica* which, at first, had probably been dedicated to the old supreme god, and it later obtained Christian interpretation:

> The clearest sacrifice is certainly *česnica*. This is a meal-related sacrifice, from which the first piece is given to God, or the entire sacrifice is intended for God [...], and the rest of the pieces are given to real or imaginary guests at the feast (to the "house", and then to "the guest", which is perhaps the same in its essence as God) (Čajkanović 1973: 429).

The custom has completely survived to this day.

6. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

In Serbian swear words, usual lexemes are *house* and *home*, as well as some important objects and terms related to house and house customs. Thus, the object of the obscene verb can be: *house*, *home*, *house and housing*, *cottage*, *everything that enters your home*, *hearth*, *home doorstep*, *chains*. These swear words also testify about old customs which have been preserved up to this day, although the beliefs from which those customs originated are long forgotten.

House or *home* used to have a function of some kind of asylum for the one who committed negligent homicide[30]. Such a guest, as well as an ordinary traveller who sought lodging, had great privileges in the home of the host who was obliged to take them in. Čajkanović interprets this custom of hospitality as an old belief that gods, disguised, gladly travelled across the world, entered the houses of mortals and, depending on how they were welcomed and treated, either rewarded or punished them:

> The main characteristic of theophany is that a deity, or a demon, usually appears as an insignificant, inconspicuous man, most often, and nearly always without exception, as a *traveller* or a *beggar*. [...] Therefore, it is obviously in our best interest to receive each

[30] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 71-72: "There, he/she would be protected by domestic deities and in that way he/she would become untouchable; at the same time, he/she would be under the material protection of the host, because, if the guest is murdered or if something harmful is done to him/her, the host would be obliged to undertake a blood revenge."

> traveller as best as we can, *and this was*, in my opinion, *the real reason why the primitive humans became hospitable*. Hospitality developed on the basis of the belief that deities and demons travel around the world disguised in travellers and beggars, thus, accordingly, each traveller and each beggar could in fact be a disguised deity (Čajkanović 1973: 141-142).

Certain parts of the house are particularly important in the Serbian culture: *doorstep* and *hearth*. Being that it is believed that old peoples buried their dead in the house to which they belonged, it is quite probable that the old Slavs did the same. Out of many customs, which are preserved today, Čajkanović concludes that the aforementioned is true:

> Our people is very conservative in its customs, and many of those customs bear the mark of the most distant past. This is particularly important for the customs from the cult of the dead. The custom of burying inside the house is utterly barbaric and even in the slightly cultural society it is impossible; that is why it had to be abandoned early, if it was ever present with our people. However, religious customs never vanish completely, but they receive another form, and they prolong life in substitutions and symbols (Čajkanović 1973: 101)[31].

Therefore, there is a highly offensive swear word in the Serbian language: *I fuck your mother on your doorstep!*

Hearth and *chains* which hang above the home's hearth, although they are almost no longer in use today, still occur in swear words (*I fuck your hearth! I fuck your house chains!*), testifying about the significance of the hearth and chains in the Serbian culture. Besides the fact that the fire from the hearth has the power to chase away night demons, people also imagined that it contained the souls of ancestors, so it is one of the most important sanctities and the centre of the domestic cult[32]. There is an old custom which states that the fire from the home's hearth should not be borrowed on the day before Christmas, because this day and Christmas were big holidays of ancestors whose numerous souls were inside the house to which they belonged on those days:

> If on that night we give fire outside our home, we risk losing our divine protectors, on which the fertility of people, livestock and fields, and health and progress depend. This does not refer to fire only, on those days no things should be given from the house, because each one can be connected to a soul (Čajkanović 1973: 211).

7. ANIMALS

Besides *house*, *home* and *hearth*, swear words also contain animals which live in the house and around the house, primarily *a dog* and *a horse*. A dog and a horse are the subjects of the vulgar verb which signifies a sexual act, and the object

[31] More on customs and beliefs related to home doorstep in Čajkanović 1973: 100-107.

[32] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 209-210: "When a Serbian bride first enters a new home, she must kiss the hearth; on Christmas, the ritual of saying "Mir Božji" (*Christ is Born*) is performed in front of the hearth; even sacrifices are offered to the hearth and to the fire: sometimes bread crumbs are thrown and wine is poured into the fire [...]."

is most often the mother of the addressee: *May a dog/horse fuck your mother (in her cunt)!* An adverbial phrase *in her cunt* is used as an intensifier of the rhematic part of the phrase with the purpose to achieve the highest perlocutionary effect possible. In the old Serbian religion both of these animals were the attributes of the god of the dead. A dog is a replacement or a double of a wolf, and a wolf is the first, theriomorphic form of Dabog, the old Serbian god of the lower world[33]. The same could be said for the role of the horse in the old religion[34]. It was not only a deity which had the form of a dog or a horse, but this form could also be taken by the dead ancestors; therefore, the insult by the swear word is multiple: those insulted are the deity, the ancestors and the addressee's mother.

8. LIFE AND LIFESTYLE

Life and lifestyle are also present in a large number of swear words in the Serbian culture. Among these swear words there are those which very clearly reveal, for example, moral traits which are considered as values. Those include, above all, *honesty* and *honour* (and their metaphors: *face*, *word*, *forehead*), which are negated and scorned by means of a swear word: *I fuck your word! I fuck your forehead!* Then, *luck*, *fortune* and *sickness* are insulted. It is quite possible that these swear words also have roots in the distant past, because it was believed once that happiness and fortune of people depend on gods[35], and that diseases come from underground demons, that is, that diseases are in fact underground demons, often ruthless and in a bad mood[36].

Very often the direct object of the verb in swears words is the lexeme *name* (variants: *little name*, *first name and last name*). Being that the name is a part of the individual's identity, it is also important today, but in the past, it seems, it also had supernatural powers which could do harm to the one who bore that name, be it a human or a god:

> We see, therefore, that gods hide their names, in fear that those who find out about it will tie them or misuse their power and do harm to their personality. If it happens now that people do the same, that fact should not surprise us, because this is a simple precaution (Čajkanović 1973: 64-65).

In the Serbian culture, even today children are given nicknames, that is, their real name is hidden, so that "evil would not hear" about it and harm them[37].

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[33] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 226, 377.

[34] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 378: "Another important and known attribute of chthonic deities and demons is a horse. With the Greeks, Romans and generally with Indo-European peoples, as determined by Malten [...], the god of the lower world originally had the form of a horse; when this god was later anthropomorphised, he preserved the horse as his inseparable attribute [...]. With us, a horse occurs as an attribute of those saints who replaced the god of the dead."

[35] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 448.

[36] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 92.

[37] On nicknames which are given for protection against evil, see Čajkanović 1973: 57-70.

9. DEATH

When it comes to death in Serbian swear words, it is mostly related to the lexemes *grave*, *open grave*, *unsung grave*, *soul*, *dead bone*. In order for a deceased person to rest in peace, it was necessary to have him/her buried according to the religious rules and that to provide him/her with food regularly. The custom of delivering food is preserved completely to this day:

> Even today, in our region, one spoon of koliva is spilled on the very grave, and it is also eaten at the funeral feast. When the feast is prepared, the dead are called by an utterance to eat: [...] at our slava, when the kolač and koliva are sanctified, all the dead whose names are written in the obituary are summoned for a feast; on Christmas Eve, souls are invited to a feast by clacking (a soul is very often imagined to be inside of a bird!), or the host speaks to them directly. As far as the proper funeral is considered, it is already known how unlucky a dead person who does not have a grave is. A grave is, in fact, a house – after all, such a shape is given to it – and a deceased person who does not have it is condemned to eternal wandering (Čajkanović 1973: 86).

Swear words *I fuck your open grave/ unsung grave/ bones/ soul* are related to vampires. A person who dies without a candle and incense being burnt for him/her, who remains "unsung", can become a vampire. In order to prevent this, a grave was being opened and subsequent funeral was being held:

> A dead person is excavated after three years, and then his/her bones are properly cleaned (with wine, etc.), and the rot, if there is any around the bones, is carefully removed and scattered – obviously in order for the soul to completely "part" with the body (Čajkanović 1973: 255).

As it can be seen, most swear words have their roots in the cult of the dead, that is, in the ancestors' cult from the old, pagan religion. This is also the case with swear words in which the subjects or the objects of the obscene verb are natural and cosmic phenomena which will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

10. NATURAL AND COSMIC PHENOMENA

The lexeme *night*, which occurs in swear words, is related to the souls of deceased ancestors who are primarily night demons[38]. The day, as a period during which the living are less threatened by the dead, occurs in many variants: *day*, *white day*, *clear sky*, *blue sky*, *daylight*. The stars and the Moon, which illuminate the night and which can partially chase away night demons, also appear in swear words, in numerous variants: *a bright star, a shiny star*, *a star that guides you in the night*, *clear moonlight*, *observatory*, *a morning star* (which announces the start of a new day). The Serbs very often curse the Sun. These swear words, in which the Sun is mostly a direct object of the obscene verb, also come in numerous variants: *I fuck your burning Sun/ tinned Sun/ bright Sun/ heavenly Sun/ the one*

[38] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 272: "The epiphany of the ancestors and related demons is also time-limited: they can only appear at night, from dusk till dawn."

that warms you. When it comes to the Sun in the old Slavic religion, Čajkanović believes that the supreme god, Dabog, although a god of the lower world, was connected to the sun, and that, among other things, he had the duty to bring the sun down to earth and up to the sky, which means that Dabog was at the same time both a chthonic and a solar deity[39]. If this is true, the lexeme S*un* in Serbian swear words is, in fact, replaceable with the lexeme *God*[40]. The same could be concluded about the swear words *May the thunder fuck you*. In the old times, it was forbidden for people to cross themselves while thunder crashed in the sky, because the cross, which was at the time already a Christian symbol, protected people only from smaller, weaker demons, but not from the god of thunder whose wrath should not have been evoked[41]. A possible punishment was not only death from the stroke of lightning, but also suffering after death, because it was believed that a person who was killed by lightning could have become a vampire[42].

11. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the performed analysis, it can be concluded that a large number of Serbian swear words have sexual connotations, be it primary or secondary. If anthropology and psychology state that swear words indicate the existence of certain pristine thoughts and urges of the population which uses them, it could be inferred that the Serbs are indeed "unrestrained", obsessed with sex and sexual intercourse. However, they are, at the same time, very conservative and patriarchal, since every sexual intercourse, besides the one in a heterosexual marriage, is considered shameful and degrading, thus it easily finds its place in swear words. It is particularly noticeable that there are not many allusions to homosexuality, which could lead to the conclusion that this phenomenon is completely unacceptable in this culture, and that it represents a taboo which has slowly started to be broken by swear words.

Besides the established syntactic structure, what is characteristic of Serbian swear words is a free choice of vocabulary. The verb is always the same (*to fuck*, and its synonyms), but the subject and the object of the verb can be anyone or anything. This kind of freedom in the choice of vocabulary items encourages the speaker's creativity in formulating swear words, which, if exaggerated, often creates humour and "funny" swear words. The sources of humour for such swear words are

[39] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 455-456.

[40] Marija Mandić and Ljubica Đurić (2015: 311) also arrived at the conclusion that the Sun had the status of a sacral object, in relation to the swear phrase *Jebem ti sunce (I fuck your Sun)*.

[41] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 253-254: "The cross, which is the symbol of the new deity, is an antidote against evil demons, but it should not be forgotten - mostly against the demons of *lower* category. However, against the powerful deity such as the old god of thunder – a deity who had been valued as suumus deus throughout centuries and who had been respected above all else – we are not so sure that the cross would have been efficient. On the contrary, it could only ignite anger in that deity, and that is why we do not use it."

[42] Cf. Čajkanović 1973: 247.

most often the situation and the unusual vocabulary items which create an unimaginable and unbelievable image[43]. Some swear words contain rhyme. The humour occurs due to the "poetic" aspiration which obliges the addressee to use lexical elements which make the swear word unbelievable and unimaginable, but also funny at the same time[44]. In a similar way, the obscene jokes, songs, proverbs and curses are created[45].

The function of these swear words is certainly neither the negation of certain values, nor insulting the interlocutor. They serve to relieve the emotional burden, to express closeness towards the conversational partner and the easiness of communication. With such swear words, conversational partners are connected, because laughter connects people and it helps to easily leave formal communication.

As it can be seen, not all Serbian swear words are insulting. Over time, many have received a completely positive connotation. In that way, a vulgar form of the absolute superlative was created: *good, better, the best, (It's) Good in your mother's cunt*[46]. The highest level of ambivalence is shown by swear words *I fuck your mother!,* which represents the greatest insult in the Serbian cultural community, and from which the expression 'to be with someone on *I fuck your mother*' terms is derived, which signifies something quite positive, the ultimate closeness of two individuals. It is used to strongly and vividly describe a close friendship which nothing can disturb.

In the Serbian culture, swear words are omnipresent: they are present in almost all speech situations and with all social groups. Swear words are a type of social communication and a kind of everyday cultural practice. Being that swear words in the Serbian language cannot be placed within a binary *good-bad* opposition, they often create a specific relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Due to such status in this community, the creativity in creating swear words is highly valued, both the insulting ones and the funny ones, as if they were some kind of special form of folk proverbs and folk tradition.

Swear words are used for attacking a certain value or a cult[47], and the research conducted in this paper shows that the cult which is most frequently attacked by swear words is the cult of ancestors. This cult of ancestors is recognised not only in the lexical material which appears in the variable part of the Serbian swear words, but also in the fixed part – the obscene verb which signifies a sexual act. The belief that a physical act between a man and a woman is a sin and something impure is known to many peoples. Veselin Čajkanović views this belief

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[43] For example: *May a double dog fuck your mother! I fuck a cistern of holy water! I fuck the left slipper of your Saint Virgin Mary!*

[44] For example: *Jebo te kos u posran nos! Hop, hopa, jebo hodža popa!*

[45] The obscene proverb *Who fucks you, you should fuck him/her as well!* The examples of obscene curses could be: *May your mother be fucked by everyone who can fuck! May you fuck the hedgehog in the back!* For a list of obscene sayings, proverbs, word play, songs, riddles, wisecracks and counting rhymes in the Serbian language see Šipka 2011: 318-333.

[46] The form, probably taken from the Serbian language, is also present in the Macedonian language: *dobro, podobro, najdobro, dobro e u pičku mater.*

[47] However, the swear word is also a cult. In the Serbian language there is a swear phrase *May the swearing/swear word fuck you!*

as pre-Christian and pagan, and explains it by the belief that during a physical act and conception, the connection with the souls of ancestors in some mystical way takes place:

> One should, above all, be reminded of a known belief that an ancestor is born in a newborn child, and that, therefore, a newborn child is the incarnation of that particular ancestor. This belief, which exists with many peoples and in which many researchers are interested [...], results in the fact that during the conception a soul actually is present and it plays a role; however, we have seen that the contact with a soul always leads to the state of cult impurity and gives a motive for ritual cleansing (Čajkanović 1973: 188).

Therefore, it is quite clear how and why a sexual act is the basis of almost all swear words. Since Serbian swear words are so closely related to the cult of ancestors, they not only confirm Čajkanović's claim about the significance and implantation of that cult in this community, but they also represent the guardians of the past, a true connection with the ancestors, an important and intangible heritage which should be preserved.

Being vulgar and powerful, swear words have the power to insult, and we use them often without even thinking about their meaning but with only one aim – to offend the conversational partner. However, if we observe swear words more closely, they also have the power to lead us into the past of our cultures and societies, to reveal ourselves, what we were like, what we are like today, and quite possibly, what we will be like tomorrow.[48]

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[48] This paper has been written within the project *Romance studies and Slavic languages, literature and culture in contact and discontact* (No. 81/1-17-8-01) which is funded by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University in Niš, AUF (Agence universitaire de la francophonie) and the Embassy of the Republic of France in Serbia (Ambassade de France en Serbie).

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THE SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE YOUNG FAMILY IN THE REGION OF OLTENIA

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ABSTRACT

The wedding in Oltenia represents an ensemble of rituals that can be better studied if compared to other Romanian ethno-folkloric regions. The archaic mentalities have registered many stages in the formation of the young couple. The Romanian popular poetry reveals the purity of specific beauty patterns, active in the ancient communities. Moreover, there are some social practices meant to assure the formation and the stability of the young couple. There are several stages specific to the wedding: the wooing, the engagement, the forgiving ritual, the marriage ceremony – the orthodox-religious ceremony, the feast, the gift ceremony, the special customs after the wedding, and the visits and Monday feast rituals. Each stage has a symbolical meaning and development according to different ethno-folkloric regions. Today, the urban influence is very much alive and has changed or replaced certain customs.
Keywords: beauty patterns, social practices, wooing, wedding, gift, young family.

The wedding in Oltenia represents a rich ritual ceremony, whose characteristics can be analysed thoroughly, as compared to other ethnic and folk areas. The archaic mentality was encompassing several stages, on addressing the relation of the young couple. The Romanian folk poetry displays the ingenuity of some patterns showing the active beauty within the old communities, such is the existence of certain social practices meant to ensure the forming and the stability of the young couple.

The folklore, with its characteristics – the collective, the oral, the anonymous, the syncretic features – offers many examples on how beauty is perceived, in comparison to the ugly, sharing the attributes of the light, it is always victorious and protected by God: "If the ugly man gives alms/ The angels turn their face away/ Whether the fair one makes mistakes/ God does not give punishments"[1], it bears fruit, even in a rocky ground, for example: "On the path the fairwalks/ The

[1] Ispas and Truță 1986: 115.

grass and wheat grow;/ Where the ugly steps on/ The grass and the ground burn around"[2], or "Scorched leaf/ Living with the ugly is dreadful:/ When entering the chamber it gets dark,/ When going out the house it gets cloudy:/ Only the fair is fortunate:/ Entering the house, it becomes bright/ Getting out, it gets sunny"[3].

The ideal of beauty gains the attributes of unicity: "You fruitful peanut-tree/ There is no other one like my darling/ Beautiful name flower.../ Sweet tasting grapes/ There is no other one in the country/ Flower of spring"[4] or "As high as the sun in the sky/ There is no other one as my man;/ As shiny as the sun/ There is no other one more handsome than my man"[5].

In the variants of some carols, there is presented the archetypal image of the steadfast family, of the couple who received the blessing of the parents, along with the divine one, a fact that can be recognised due to abundance, fecundity, social position, fulfilled destiny, the acknowledgement of the place in Heaven. The blessed couple makes the space they live in become holy, an ideal city. There are to be given some obvious examples: "God, make these good people happy/ Good Lord!/ This good man and his wife!/ Who have been together since childhood/ Good Lord! And they married when growing up./ Their love makes the trees grow in their garden/ An apple-tree have sprung and grown"[6]. An image of the Heaven appeared in the garden, an image of the sacralised vegetation that anticipates the building of the church, as a sign of divine blessing, of sin forgiveness and reaffirmation of their connection with the divinity: "On a Thursday morning/ They woke up, got dressed and went to the river/ Jordan river./ They washed their faces, their arms/ Their milky-white skin/ And they return home/ Where they built a church"[7]. The divine reward is as significant as their faith: "If God saw/ That they ask for justice/ And not for mean purposes,/ He sent swiftly/ A couple of saints, two of the holy parents"[8], keeping for them a place in Heaven: "You shall live here/ As long as the sun is up in the sky; You shall feast here/As long as the sun stays on the sky"[9], therefore, the pure love is protected by the divinity.

Furthermore, love is also protected by the community, who would organise different events for the young people to know each other better: "In the traditional forms, marriage is not something done randomly: the young attend certain social events in the social life of the village, they do certain works commonly, they help mutually, as in the case of *clacă* (group work), *şezătoare* (evening sitting of village people), parties or horas. At New Year, for example, the groups of young men, who go carolling from house to house, have specific wishes for the lads and the

[2] Ibidem: 121.
[3] Ibidem: 122.
[4] Ibidem: 159.
[5] Ibidem.
[6] Mohanu 1975.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] Ibidem.
[9] Ibidem.

maidens that are the marrying age. In the allegoric forms, these wishes speak about the happy marriage and the duties that the both spouses have, once married"[10].

The poetry of the wedding customs records variants of the orations, specific for the wooing. This practice is a very old one, and, over the time it has become sublimated, remaining just the wedding oration. This wedding oration, because the form is also preserved for the beginning of the wedding, not only for wooing, reminds of an ancient mentality horizon, encompassing old symbolic representations. The girl is successively imagined as a "beast", a "fairy", a "deer", a "beautiful little flower", a "gorgeous shining star". All these symbolic images talk about ancient important significations. There ought to be mentioned an interesting oration too, "in which the bride also goes hunting, and prepares herself, the same as the groom, greeting him. Her call is not expressed through a golden horn, as that of the groom, but an archaic trumpet: *Our young princess,/ Good willingly (...)/ Woke up early in the morning/ And washed her face,/ Took a big trumpet/ And blew it hard in three directions/ And gathered a large army/ Which is faithful to her*"[11]. The wedding oration, "without calling it by this name, is the first time mentioned by Dimitrie Cantemir in *Description Moldavie* (1769). It seems that it used to be performed both at the royal and peasants' weddings, and the sequence of the ceremony when it was voiced was the wooing"[12]. In time, the oration would be recited only at the wedding "at the bride's house, by the young men, as messengers of the groom, who used to be called *conăcari, colăcari, vătăjei* or *vătășei.* In Ardeal, they are called *chemători*, and in Galicea Mare commune (Dolj County), the person who says the oration is called *prooroc.* He is a specialised man, married, and dressed in a national costume, riding a white adorned horse. He meets the groom's suite and leads them to the bride's house"[13].

In the area of Strehaia, Mehedinți County, the engagement was performed 2 or 3 weeks after the wooing, on a Sunday, or another holiday, there was brought food, unleavened bread and drink, and if they were richer, there were brought earrings or bracelets, the wedding rings too, moment in which there was also established the date of the wedding[14]. In Oltenia, *the engagement* is also called **încredițare* or *foaia* (approx. *entrusting of bride*), "it is the ceremony which sanctions the marriage commitment, and lasts until the wedding (...). Usually, the engagement is performed on Saturday or Sunday, but also on Thursday. In Transylvania, on Someș Valley, the boy offers the girl a ring called *trust*, and the girl gives him a scarf"[15]. Moreover, in Oltenia, "*foia* or *the engagement* takes place during the day, being accompanied by cheers and good humour, with the attendance

[10] Pop 1966 *apud* Meițoiu 1969: 18.
[11] *Nunta la români* 1974: 55 *apud* Bălă 2002: 59.
[12] Bălă 2002: 49-50.
[13] Ibidem: 49.
[14] Chicet 2010: 39.
[15] Bălă 2002: 86-87.

of the both families and other guests. The small group goes to the church, where the priest gives the young couple their confession, reads the engagement sermon and puts the wedding rings on the ring fingers of their right hands. At the wedding, he changes the rings, putting them on the left hand ring finger. Once returned to the girl's house, there is laid the table, somebody drafts the dowry document and receives as a gift a handwoven cloth, sewn with specific patterns"[16].

In Maramureş, the *engagement* is also called *credinţă* (trust), "after the agreement, there was sealed the small or the great *trust*; the great one involved musicians, the small one included only the close relatives of the groom. They used to hide the rings in a bowl of wheat, and they would take them out of there and put them on the bride's finger. This reunion took place until dawn, and after the sun had risen, they went to church. The groom and the bride, all the other invited people, would go accompanied by the musicians. Then, the announcement took place (*herdetiş*), for the people to gather in the church and the marriage to be announced. And if they agreed, they had the wedding"[17].

The wedding preparations begin, in Oltenia, about a week before, and the wedding lasted around three days: "the wedding is celebrated on three days, Saturday, Sunday and Monday. The preparations begin on Friday. In the old days, there were slaughtered animals, but this doesn't take place anymore. The adorned fir-tree of the bride was decorated by the young people on Saturday, when the musicians would arrive. There was prepared a bucket of water, in which there was placed a fir-tree top, and the youth would decorate it and they would dance around it"[18]. Another field informant tells that: "on Saturday, there is installed the wedding tent, there are made preparations, and the music can be heard in the household, the girls and the boys decorate the fir-tree, there is laid the table and, after eating, the best man and the musicians go through the village to look for people to come to the wedding. On Saturday, there is laid the table, and the dance lasts until two or three in the morning"[19]. The decoration of the fir-tree is part of a preliminary ritual, of bride's separation from the community of the unmarried young people.

An important stage in the wedding ceremony is represented by the voicing of the forgiveness to the parents. It is "a custom common for all the regions of the country, before the engagement, the bride and the groom need to *ask for forgiveness* and *blessing* from their parents. In many regions, this is performed on the engagement day, in the morning"[20]. In Maramureş, "on the wedding day, before leaving to the engaging ceremony, the bride asks for forgiveness: *You, my dear*

[16] Ibidem: 87.

[17] Csiszar, Poduţ 2017: 153, gathered by Corina Isabela Csiszar, performer Maria Rednic, 72 years old, Onceşti, from C.C.P.P.T.C.M. Archive, File no.01/L/2017.

[18] Informant Florea Maria, 66 years old, village of Bărboi, Greceşti commune, Dolj County, field research in March 2016.

[19] Informant Maria Victoria, 87 years old, from the village of Bărboi, Greceşti commune, Dolj County, field research in March 2016.

[20] Bălă Dumintru, op.cit., p. 93.

bride,/ Before leaving the house,/ And be married in front of the priest/ Call your parents/ And bow before them/ And tell them to forgive you (...)/ You go now to be a bride/ Lord bless this hour/ May the good and the peace be with you/ May you not have troubles/ Nor tears dropping on your cheeks./ May you not have problems/ And only a smile on your face"[21].

The marriage is performed "according to the Orthodox church ritual (...). In Oltenia, both the groom and the bride have in one of their shoes, under the sole, a silver coin, to be rich and pure all the time. From time to time, an aunt from the groom's side, throws barley, candies, lump sugar and money over the young couple's feet, for them to be healthy, loved by the community, and to have children. When leaving the church, there is danced the hora of the bride, sometimes the *hora of the union*, followed by *sârba* (a faster dance), and after the suite leaves for the groom's house. On the way, the godfather has the duty to throw coins in the buckets of water that some women prepared in advance and carry with them. The women spill water in front of the bride and groom, to have good fortune and enjoy a wealthy marriage". Once arriving at the groom's house, his mother ties a scarf around the neck of the bride and groom, to be united forever, and helps them passing over the threshold. She also meets the bride with honey and sweet bread or "fruit, sweet bread and wine, (...) they *circle* the table three times, the bride tastes three times from the sweet bread and the wine, and chooses one of the two apples"[22].

Timiş Nicoară from the Commune of Borşa, Maramureş County, was mentioning a wish addressed to the young couple: "May you have luck:/ As many wheat seeds are,/ As many happy years/ And many and beautiful children may you have!/ A large and rich crop too,/ Good-luck and peace in your house!/ Beautiful wheat crops as in the plains/ And joy in your house!"[23], and, meanwhile, "when returning from the marriage ceremony, the newly-weds are met by an old man or woman, who throws wheat, over their heads and those of the guests"[24], saying the wish above.

Roman Ioana, a villager from Bărboi, commune of Grecești, Dolj County, was confessing that "on Sunday morning, the wedding guests go a fountain, for the bride to take water. The bride puts on her wedding dress and, along with the best man, with an unenameled bucket of water and decorated with cloth on a stick, in the old times the cloth used to be woven from floss silk, but nowadays they aren't made like that anymore, now, they put a towel. They go to a fountain, accompanied by the musicians and guests. At the fountain, the bride [in other variants the best man] takes three buckets of water to spill in four directions – towards the Sunrise, Sunset, South and North. The fourth one is filled with water and taken home. After, they go to take the godparents, go to the church, where they get married. There is

[21] Csiszar, Poduț 2017: 156-157, gathered by Maria Mirela Poduț, performer Anuță Ciceu, 74 years old, Budești, from C.C.P.P.T.C.M. Archive, File no. 02/MM/2016.

[22] Bălă 2002: 96.

[23] Ibidem: 97.

[24] Ibidem.

laid the table for everyone, and, after eating, there is received the gift. During my childhood years, people would also offer food, but it is not like that anymore, now they offer only money"[25].

Isidor Chicet mentions that in Mehedinți, "on the day the young couple gets married, there is a big party, both at the bride's and the groom's house. Around a table full of food and drink, the musicians sing and there are made good wishes for the newly-weds (...), the bride and the groom do not eat, but they are given only a glass of sweetened wine. The first dish they eat is from the same plate, both of them using just one spoon. There are made different wishes"[26].

The gifts were highly significant, "the purpose of the present being a complex one. As material value, or as objects, in money, for the young couple, the gift represents the foundation of their new house. Thus, a successful family is founded on both material and spiritual support"[27]. Isidor Chicet also underlined that "the most beautiful tradition of gift offering at a wedding, from the entire ceremony from Severin, is kept at Cireşu, [Mehedinți], although in the year 2000, the money received as a wedding present is put on the unleavened bread, with basil stalk and some salt, which needs to make their new family life tasty. The godfather places the money on a towel, some bread, the basil and the salt, the towel is tied and offered to the bride. The rest of the unleavened bread is shredded into pieces and thrown to the guests. The bride then offers gifts to the godparents, the best man, the person who carried the flag, and the other guests. The men and the young men receive floss silk towels or handkerchiefs, and the women receive silk scarves"[28].

The wedding in Oltenia has a special charm, includes a lot of separation, limitation, aggregation, liminary, and post-liminary rites that describe an archaic mentality, rich in symbolic gestures, which are rarely preserved, within the context of the urban influences. The structure has still been preserved to a great extent, but the contemporaneity has forgotten or replaced certain sequences. The socialisation of the young couple, their integration into the community of the mature, have gained looser forms. Moreover, the social position of the woman has achieved new valences and appreciations, separating at least from the boundaries imposed by a new traditional family. She is still the central image of the wedding ceremony, spreading joy and beauty, regardless the criteria or the patterns of a time period[29].

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[25] Informant Roman Ioana, de 55 years old, village of Bărboi, Greceşti commune, Dolj County, field research in March2016.

[26] Chicet 2010: 91.

[27] Ibidem: 93.

[28] Ibidem: 98.

[29] The article is part of the Research Project *Cultură populară şi valori spirituale în Oltenia. Permanență şi schimbare în practica obiceiurilor calendaristice şi cele legate de existența umană* included in the Research Programme of "C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploşor" Socio-Human Research Institute from Craiova, within the Romanian Academy.

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ETHNO-GEOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF SHEPHERDING IN BILBOR COMMUNE

GEORGE-BOGDAN TOFAN, ADRIAN NIȚĂ

ABSTRACT

This study aims to emphasize the complexity of pastoral activity from the above mentioned mountain depression, as well as the intensity with which it pulsates, in spite of the fact that the old ways have been gradually emptied of content. It starts with a synthetic presentation of the history of this activity, reflected in several studies directly referencing the studied area. In order to fully comprehend the pastoral phenomenon, we described the economic basis or support (pastures and hayfields), which provides the specific favorability conditions for this activity. We also captured extremely fine details regarding sheepfold typology, tools and dairy preparation techniques, as well as other elements of material and spiritual pastoral culture.
Keywords: Căliman Mountains, sheepfold, shepherds, pastures, traditional products

INTRODUCTION

The northern innermountain area of the central group of the Eastern Carpathians includes a series of tectonic-volcanic depressions such as Drăgoiasa, Bilbor and Borsec, extending as a corridor all the way to Tulgheș. The pastoral economy found here significantly contributed to the humanization process, being a fundamental element for trade. Through pastoral migrations, this primary economic activity managed to maintain the natural connections between the Romanian populations of Transylvania and Moldova, all the way to the Great Union of 1918.

In a document dated 1st January 1720 (Hurmuzacki Collection, vol. V, p. 1576-1577, nr. 1972), the previously mentioned areas is mentioned as one of sheep transhumance from Mărginimea Sibiului, as shepherds wintered in Moldova with their stock (shepherds from Galeș, today component of Sălișteț, kept their animals in the Căliman Mountains during summer days), referencing "... the continuous stream of sheep and produce from Ardeal towards Moldova, to the many sheepfolds they have there."[1], while Balázs Orbán (1869) states that Căliman

[1] Pufulete, 1987: 30.

Mountains held roughly 15,000 cattle and 50,000-60,000 sheep, belonging the shepherds of Mărginimea Sibiului[2].

In 1926, the geographer and ethnologist Nicolae Dragomir showed that these men, "*bârsanii*", were drawn to the large expanses of pastures in the area, leasing the alpine area of Căliman for summer use. The areas were owned by the communes from Bistriței and Reghinului Hills (Monor, Șieuț, Șieu, Budacu de Sus, Ruşii-Munți, Morăreni, Brâncovenești, Ideciu de Jos), as well as by the Bánffy, Urmánczi and Kemény noble houses. At the end of summer, sheep followed the Mureş Valley, to Toplița, and the across the mountains through Bistricioara Valley, by Tulgheş (Prisecani Pass)[3], which was a border and customs point in the 19th century, where sheep were numbered. Herds of cattle and droves of horses passed through there, heading for Piatra Neamț, where mountain shepherds bought grain for their households. Tulgheș thus became a important node for wood and animal trade, being transited by more than 300,000 sheep and 10,000 horses each year. Another sheep road passed through Bilbor or across Drăgoiasa, and then towards Dorna[4].

In 1934, Laurian Someşan defended his disertation named "*The pastoral life of Călimani Mountains*" at the University of Cluj, stating that "...the number of sheep reaches approximately 75,000"[5]. Large numbers belonged to the so called "*târgoveni*", whose settlements were located on the western slopes of Căliman Mountains. Expert shepherds and animal wranglers, they also tended the sheep of people from Bilbor and Drăgoiasa, from whom they bought hay for long winter periods[6]. The complexity of the pastoral economy of these mountains also drew the attention of ethnographers, who provided us with several precious pieces of information regarding the type of sheepfolds[7], the organisation of pastoral life[8], local specificities and pastoral systems[9], as well the techniques, methods and tools used in a sheepfold[10]. An indepth look into the pastoral phenomenon from this area was done by the ethnographer Dorel Marc, in his "*Traditional occupational structures in the Toplița - Upper Mureş Area*" (2010), as part of his doctoral thesis, taken at "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu. We would also like to mention several etnographical studies with emphasis on pastoral customs[11] (superstitions regarding the protection of sheep against wild animals or certain work-related habits), and

[2] Orbán, 1869: 140.
[3] Dragomir, 1926: 55; 2014: 35.
[4] Someşan, 1933: 339.
[5] Idem: 329.
[6] Idem: 303.
[7] Vlăduțiu, 1973: 272-274.
[8] Popa, 1979: 221.
[9] Pop, 1984: 412.
[10] Bucur, 2003: 129-130.
[11] Bucur et Catrina, 2012: 35.

some folklore collections from the northern part of Harghita County, which encompass this as well[12].

Pastoral life depends on the coming of spring, and is generally in full swing between 23rd April (Saint George) and 14th October (Saint Parascheva). The pastures are used between May-October, with 130-150 days for cattle and 150-180 days for sheep, while hayfields are used only in autumn, for the collection of hay. There had been years when, due to extremely low temperatures and snowfall in spring, the shepherds had to descend with their stock, returning to the mountain during summer days.

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

This scientific endeavour could not have been possible without enquiries and interviews with many well-known and extremely experienced shepherds. Field research took place a couple of years before and a part of the preliminary results were included in a subchapter of a PhD paper[13]. The material was later extracted and published in a scientific journal[14].

After acquring certain scientific and research experience, this topic was analysed once again in more detail, benefitting from interdisciplinary ideas and research methods. We utilised official statistical data from the National Institute of Statistics, as well as the Bilbor Mayor's Office. Further data and information was provided by veterinarians, and coordinators of professional animal wrangler associations. There are also countless field research studies, where researchers have come into direct contact with the identified sheepfolds, while the bibliography aided the authors in setting a logical plan to track the issues at hand. The graphics, tables and maps are original creations by the authors, generated with software such as Desktop AutoCAD 2016, ArcGIS 10, CorelDRAW, Microsoft Office 2016.

PASTURES AND HAYFIELDS, THE BACKBONE OF PASTORAL ECONOMY

The soils, climate and topography of the mountain depressions and their surrounding areas enabled the development of an agricultural economy in these settlements, mostly based on animal husbandry. This economic activity eventually became all encompassing, compensating the insufficient development of vegetal produce in the area. Animal husbandry is an activity with a long tradition in the studied area, benefitting from large tracts of land covered with *pastures*, over a quarter of Bilbor's surface area (32%, 7,261 hectares). Hayfields are also extended (7.3%, 1,662 hectares), while *arable lands* occupy a modest 0.2% (52 hectares).

[12] Truță Matei, 2005 a: 303
[13] Tofan, 2013a: 310.
[14] Tofan, 2013b: 169-178.

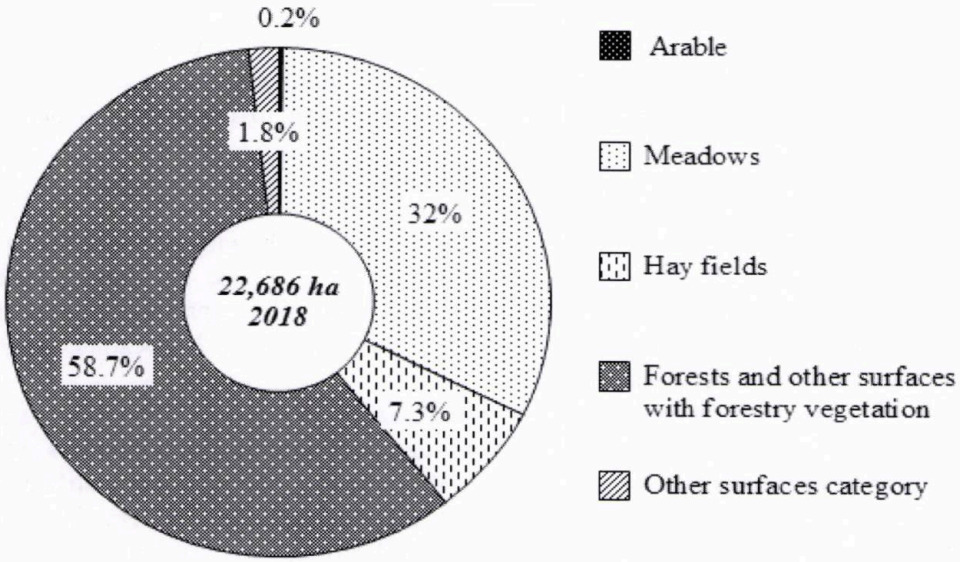
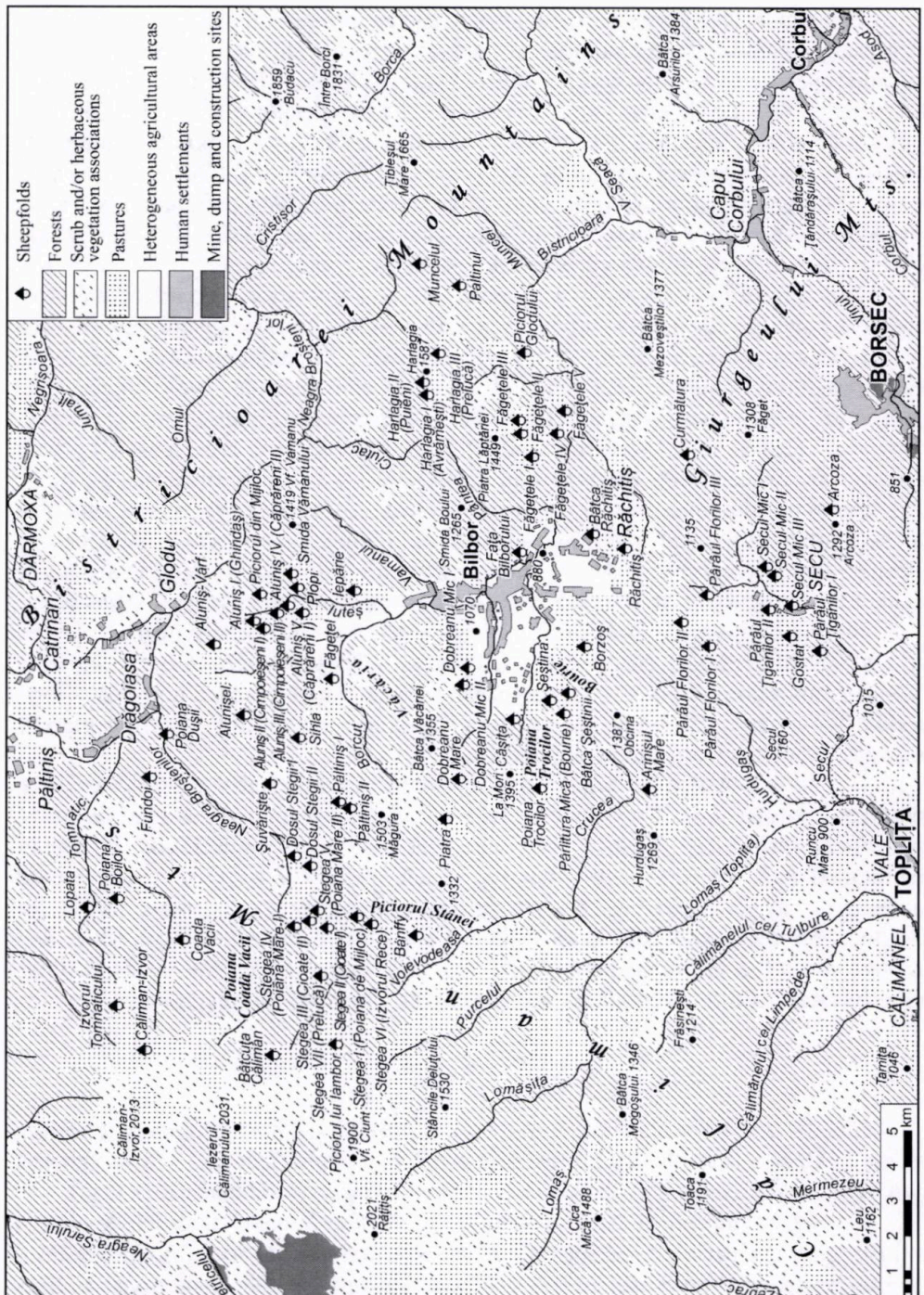


Figure 1: Bilbor Commune. Land structure according to usage, 2018. Source: authors.

The agricultural surface area of the commune (8,975 hectares) is almost entirely defined by the first two categories (99.4%), creating favourable premises for the development of the animal husbandry sector, mostly cattle (3,370), sheep (1,996) and horses (346). The data was extracted from the reports provided by the Office of the Mayor of Bilbor on 1st July 2018.

Pastures are located along the edges of the depression as well as in the high mountains, superseding deforested areas. More than half of its surface area is owned by Bilbor commune and associations, while the remaining areas are in the possession of Lăzarea, Monor, Şieuț, or Ruşii-Munți communes. Eligibility conditions for pasture subsidies from Agricultural Payments and Interventions Agency (A. P. I. A.), require farmers to have animals with a minimal load of 0.7 LSU/hectares (LSU = livestock unit).


Sheepfolds
Forests
Scrub and/or herbaceous vegetation associations
Pastures
Heterogeneous agricultural areas
Human settlements
Mine, dump and construction sites
Bilbor
Dragoiasa
Glodu
Păltiniș
Catrinari
DÂRMOXA
Giurgeului Mts.
Călimani Mts.
Bistricioarei Mountains
Corbu
BORSEC
SECU
TOPLIȚA
VALE
CĂLIMĂNEL
Piciorul Stânei
Poiana Cauda Vacii
Poiana Trocilor
Poiana Boilor
Rachitiș
Capu Corbului
Lomașa
Lomaș (Toplița)
Călimănelul cel Turburе
Călimănelul cel Limpede
Neagra Șarului
Neagra Broștenilor
Negrișoara
Cristișor
Bistricioara
Vf. Seșag
Muncelu
Pătlinul
Tibleșul Mare 1665
Harlagia II (Pulemi) 1587
Harlagia I (Avrămești)
Harlagia III (Preluca)
Piatra Lăpănei
Fâgetele III
Fâgetele II
Fâgetele IV
Fâgetele V
Fâgetele I
Piciorul Glodului
Cuiug
Omul
Borca
Intre Borbi 1831
1859 Budacu
Bâtca Arșinilor 1384
Bâtca Mezoveghilor 1377
Curmătura
1308 Făget
Secul Mic I
Secul Mic II
Secul Mic III
Arcoza
1292 Arcoza
851
Vinul
Corbului
Bâtca Țăndărașului 1114
Bâtca Rachitiș
Rachitiș 1135
Pârâul Florilor II
Pârâul Florilor I
Pârâul Florilor III
Pârâul Țiganilor II
Pârâul Țiganilor I
Goștat
Secul 1160
Secul
Runcu Mare 900
1015
Hurdugaș
Hurdugaș 1269
Crucea
Obcina Arinișul Mare 1387
Borzoș
Bâtca Șeștinii
Bourie
Poiana Trocilor
Șeștina
Dobreanu Mic I
Dobreanu Mic II
Dobreanu Mare
Bâtca Văcărei 1355
Smida Boului
1265
1070
Fața Bilborului
880
La Mori Căsița 1395
Piatra
1332
Bâtca Mogoșului 1346
Frăsinești 1214
Stâncile Deluțului 1530
Lomașia
Purcelul
Volevodeasa
Banffy
Izvorul Tomnaticului
Lopata
Tomnatic
Poiana Boilor
Fundoi
Poiana Dușii
Călimani-Izvor
Călimani-Izvor 2013
Coada Vacii
Bâtcuța Călimani
Stegea IV (Poiana Mare I)
Stegea III (Coate II)
Stegea VII (Preluca)
Stegea II (Coate I)
Stegea I (Poiana de Mijloc)
Stegea VI (Izvorul Rece)
Piciorul Iambor
1900 Vf. Cum
2021 Rătiș
Iezerul Călimanului 2031
Leu 1162
Mermezeu
Toaca 1191
Cica Mică 1488
Zebrac
Tamița 1048
Suvârșite
Stegea V (Poiana Mare II)
Păltiniș I
Păltiniș II
1503 Măgura
Bâtca
Dosul Stegii
Dosul Stegii II
Sinia
Fâgetel
Iepâne
Iutes
Aluniș I (Ghindaș)
Aluniș II (Cimpoiesenii I)
Aluniș III (Cimpoiesenii II)
Aluniș IV (Căprăreni I)
Aluniș V (Căprăreni II)
Aluniș VI
Aluniș-Vârf
Aluniș-Izvor
Piciorul din Mijloc
1419 Vf. Vamanu
Smida Vămanului
Plopi
Vamanului
Negra Broștenilor
Cuiug
Lucavina
Bâtca Rachitiș
Rachitiș
Bâtca Șeștinii
Borzoș
Obcina Arinișul Mare
Pârâul Florilor I
Pârâul Florilor II
Pârâul Florilor III
Pârâul Țiganilor II
Pârâul Țiganilor I
Goștat
Secul 1160
Secul
Runcu Mare 900
1015
Hurdugaș
Hurdugaș 1269
Crucea
Lomaș (Toplița)
Călimănelul cel Turburе
Călimănelul cel Limpede
Frăsinești 1214
Bâtca Mogoșului 1346
Stâncile Deluțului 1530
Lomașia
Purcelul
Volevodeasa
Banffy
Piciorul Stânei
Poiana Cauda Vacii
Poiana Trocilor
Poiana Boilor
Fundoi
Poiana Dușii
Izvorul Tomnaticului
Lopata
Tomnatic

This can be calculated based on a mathematical formula - multiplying the number of grazing animals with the number of animals necessary for one hectare, using the so-called specific conversion coefficient (for cattle ≥ 2 years = 1.0 LSU; cattle between 1-2 years = 0.6 LSU; cattle ≤ 1 year = 0.4 LSU; sheep/goats = 0.15 LSU). If requirements are not met, pastures can be leased through a public auction or professional associations, according Government's Ordinance 34/2013, for a 7 year period. These are comprised of a group of active farmers who own animals (cattle, sheep etc.), the entire activity being coordinated by a professional. Grazing is a joint activity, in sheepfolds with a variable stock per leased surface.

The sheepfold manager is a member of the association's board of directors and also manages farmer subsidies, depending on the number of animals of each farmer. Based on their income, they are obligated to maintain and expand the leased pastures (shrub or tree removal, erecting constructions, well digging and upkeep of water sources etc). There are two pastoral organisations in Bilbor, "*Zimbrul*" (2006) and "*Alunişul*" (2010). The total surface area leased by said associations exceeds 800 hectares and is divided into smaller or larger pastures. The largest pasture areas are on the eastern slopes of Căliman Mountains, and also to the south, south-west and south-east of the mountain, on gentle, sunnier and warmer slopes (*Dobreanu Mare, Piatra, Stegea*). Significant pasture areas are located in Bistricioarei Mountains as well (*Alunişel, Harlagia, Paltinul, Muncelul*).

Mountain pastures, alongside alpin and subalpine species, are also comprised of a series of Graminaceae, mostly red fescue (*Festuca rubra fallax*), *Agrostis rupestris*, matgrass (*Nardus stricta*), *Agrostis tenuis*, which create a nutritious flora, perfect for grazing. The less extended hayfields are mainly found in the marshy lowlands of Bistricioara and its tributaries.

Hayfields can also be found higher in the mountains (forest hayfields), due to massive deforestations. They have a larger number of plant species than pastures, their yield thus being higher. The ones closer to local households are better maintained and fertilized with manure, which implicitly leads to a substantial increase in hay yield per hectare. The hay and aftergrass are the main fodder for livestock for the entire cold season. These are mostly stored in local *sheds* and *stables*, while the surplus is kept in situ in stacks. Besides hay, the locals also use other types of feed for their stock, such as clover, alfa alfa, turnips or beet.

CATTLE RAISING

It is the area's the main economic sector, providing substantial income for the people of Bilbor, as cattle can be found in every household, fact also proven through their high density - over 37.5 animals/100 hectares of agricultural land (2018 data).

The most widespread cattle species are *Romanian Spotted* (with its variations) and *Pinzgau*, exclusively bred for ecological milk and less for meat, no longer used for transportation. These are species well adapted to mountain conditions, as they daily travel large distancies on steep slopes. They can also handle extreme temperatures,

which unfortunately causes modest milk yields. In the last half a century, cattle stock increased significantly, mostly due to some fairly profitable contracts between producers and state, contracts that pushed for acquring young livestock and later for A. P. I. A. subsidies.

More than five decades ago, people established pastoral associations during summer periods, in order to batten oxen or use them for pulling bullock carts, or for other agricultural work. Gathering oxen generally took place in spring, at the end of the works, while the picking at the beginning of September (around 14th September, during "*The Ascension of the Holy Cross*", marking the end of summer and start of autumn). During the First and Second World Wars, oxen stocks, decreased dramatically in each household as the animals had been confiscated by the military. A second period of significant reduced stocks, the 1960s, was caused by large, impossible to atain quotas. Cattle raising also made a mark on the local toponomy as many pasture areas around Bilbor depression bare akin names (Poiana Boilor, Smida Boului, Bourie). After this dark period, animal stocks began to increase, as they were used solely for transportation in agriculture and logging (346 animals, 3.8 horses/100 hectares of agricultural land, 2018).

As horses are large hay consumers, local people usually take them to the pastures located in the surrounding mountains during summer (Căliman and Giurgeu). However, there are no exclusive areas where horses are kept for longer periods. For many years, the horse herds went unsupervised, which resulted in an extremely high number of thefts.

Picture 1: Group of Bilbor locals oxen droving, 1940s. Source: authors' personal archive

SHEEP RAISING

Of secondary importance, the main purpose of sheep raising is to produce milk, not for wool or meat. Bilbor commune had a relatively high density of sheep in 2018 – 22.2 animals/100 hectares of agricultural land. Over 80% are *Tsurcana breeds*, presumably originating from the "mărgineni" who took their animals grazing in the Căliman Mountains[15]. There are also *Tsigai* or *Stogosa* crossbreeds, from Tsurcana and Tsigai.

If between 1960 and 1980, there was a significant increase in the number of animals, spurred by state stimulus packages (purchase of lambs, wool and cheese), the current number of sheep is significantly lower. This phenomenon was primarily caused by the fact that sheep raising is not a sound investment in the current economic situation. Moreover, there is almost no demand for wool on the national market. The sheering of the animals is currently performed individually and by hand, using the so-called "Gypsy hand sheers", of different sizes.

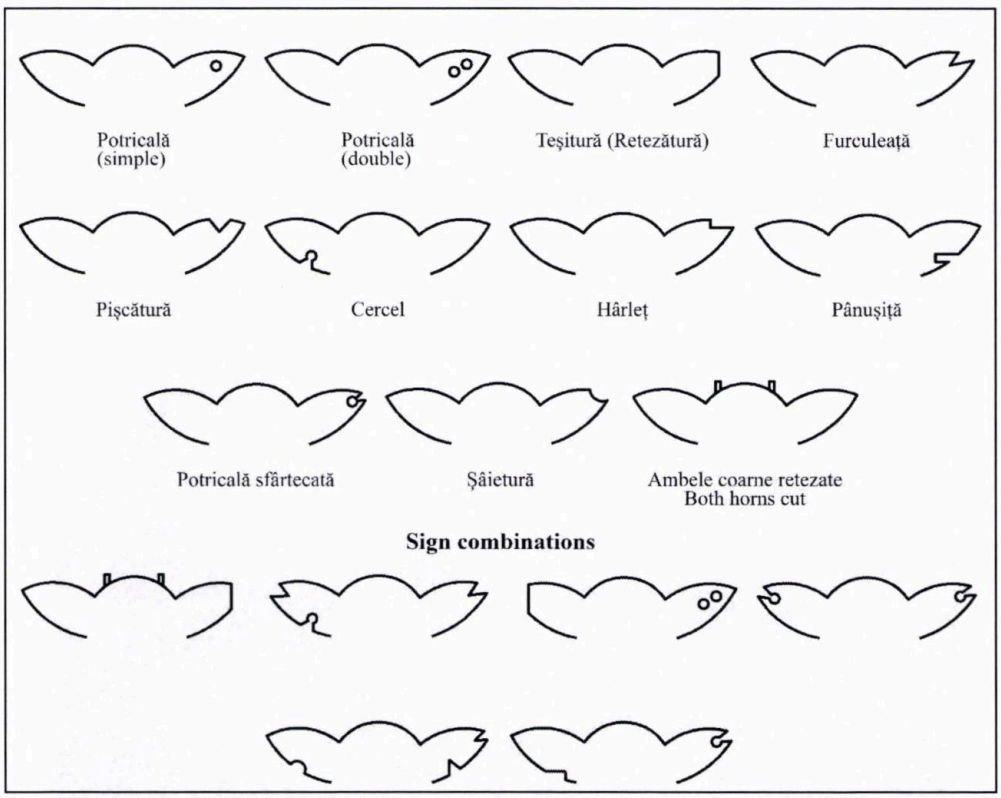


Figure 3: Sign models for sheep ears. Source: authors

[15] Someşan, 1933: 309.

Alongside sheep, goat farms, despite not being a characteristic of the Bilbor area, are also present (with 215 animals in 2018). Almost the entire animal stock is composed of a rather primitive species, *the Carpathian goat*, still insufficiently developed. In order to be recognized when returning to their winter resting areas, sheep and goats have marks on their ears or horns distinctive for each owner. According to the descriptions made by several locals, we can list a part of said signs: "potricală" (simple and/or double, tear), "teşitură" (retezătură), "furculeaţă", "pişcătură", "cercel"„hârleţ", "pânuşiţă", "şâietură", as well as several combinations of the above. Some people even pierce the animals' ears with certain shaped metal wires. These can be applied to "şute" (the ones without horns), as well as to long horned animals, which usually have one or both of their horns cut off. According to EU requirements, the veterinarian must provide animal owners with a plastic ring called "visual tag", with a laser printed barcode, which enables the identification of the animal.

ANIMAL DISEASES

Animals that are summer grazing in the mountains are commonly exposed to a series of diseases, partly caused by feedstock but also by contact with pathogens. This can lead to severe health issues. Animal vaccinations have been performed chaotically, many times without any professional consultations. In spite of this phenomenon, disease frequency in the past couple of decades has been rather low.

Without going into full detail, we will proceed and list several animal prophylaxis procedures. One of the most common endoparasitic diseases is *fasciolosis*, also known as *liver fluke*, caused by a parasitic worm, affecting ruminants such as cattle and sheep. The infestation mostly takes place in swampy grasslands.

The disease evolves mostly in autumn and winter, the animals showing signs such as anemia, low milk yield, undeveloped fetuses or abortions. Taking the flock out during periods of low temperatures, fog or rain, or when the grass in covered in dew or rime, can lead to *ruminal bloating*, caused by gas accumulation in the rumen, sometimes even leading to the animal's death by asphyxiation. *Cenurosis* primarily affects lambs. The animals have difficulty walking or keeping their balance (circulatory movements) and head straight. They also experience spasms and seizures, the disease eventually leading to their deaths as the Taenia larvae Taenia develop in the animal's central nervous system (*Coenurus cerebralis*).

Coccidiosis is a parasitic disorder of the digestive tract, with a severe evolution, caused by coccidia ingested via grass or water. It has a higher frequency in young sheep and goats. It manifests through diarrhoea or constipation, leading to dehydration, exhaustion, even death. Hydatidosis is a disease which causes significant economic losses for farmers, especially since it decreases the animal's productivity, as taenia larvae primarily enter their lungs or liver. There is also the contagious agalactia found in non-vaccinated sheep and goats, traditionally known as *mastitis*, mostly affecting lactating females, and thus reducing milk

production; eye whiteness (cataract) a disorder found in animals that were hit; scrapie or "mad sheep disease", affecting the central nervous system and portions of skin, sometimes mistaken for cenurosis; or isolated cases of erysipelas, an infectious-contagious disease affecting pigs. The most common external diseases are *tick*, *fly larvae*, *scabs* or *lice infestations*, which can dramatically reduce milk, meat as well as wool production. During cold and wet periods, calves run the risk of infection with a fungus called *Tricophyton verrucosum*, the sickness being traditionally known in the area as "tricofiția" or "pecingine" (cattle ringworm fungus). This may also affect people and sheherds who come into contact with sick animals.

Anotgher dangerous illness is *interdigital dermatitis, limping*, caused by a bacteria (*Dichelobacter nodosus*). It penetrates the lesioned and/or unclean skin between the animal's toes and is most potent during periods with high humidity.

ASPECTS REGARDING SHEEPFOLD ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONALITY

The traditional sheepfold is a rectangular construction, with walls made either from round wooden beams with dovetail joints („cheotori")[16], or beams cut by hand, assembled using a more "modern" method, locally known as "în căței". The size of a sheepfold is generally 8-12 m by 4-5 m, with a wall height of up to 2.5 m and one window. These constructions usually follow the architecture of the sheepfolds from Bucovina, with two rooms, the *cheese production room* and the *pantry*.[17] The former is called as such since it is where milk preparation mainly takes place. It is also used as a bedroom for shepherds, with wooden beds called "priciuri", which used to be stuffed with moss or fir branches for a bit of comfort. At the entrance, usually in the right corner, lies the stone fireplace. The fire is kept almost continuously, with thick dry spruce logs, locally called "celnițe" or "lobde".

Above the fireplace is the *spining kettle holder*, a hardwood T-shaped tool, positioned horizontally. At one end, it is tied to one of the beams with a metal cable or a short chain, at the other fastened to a log, in such a way that it enables a 90^0 turn.

This wood has a carving in the middle which fits into another tool, called "cujbă", which also has one or two notches for the handle of the milk pot. There are also several benches and racks necessary for storing pots and miscellaneous tools.

[16] Morariu, 1937: 158.
[17] Vuia, 1964: 83.

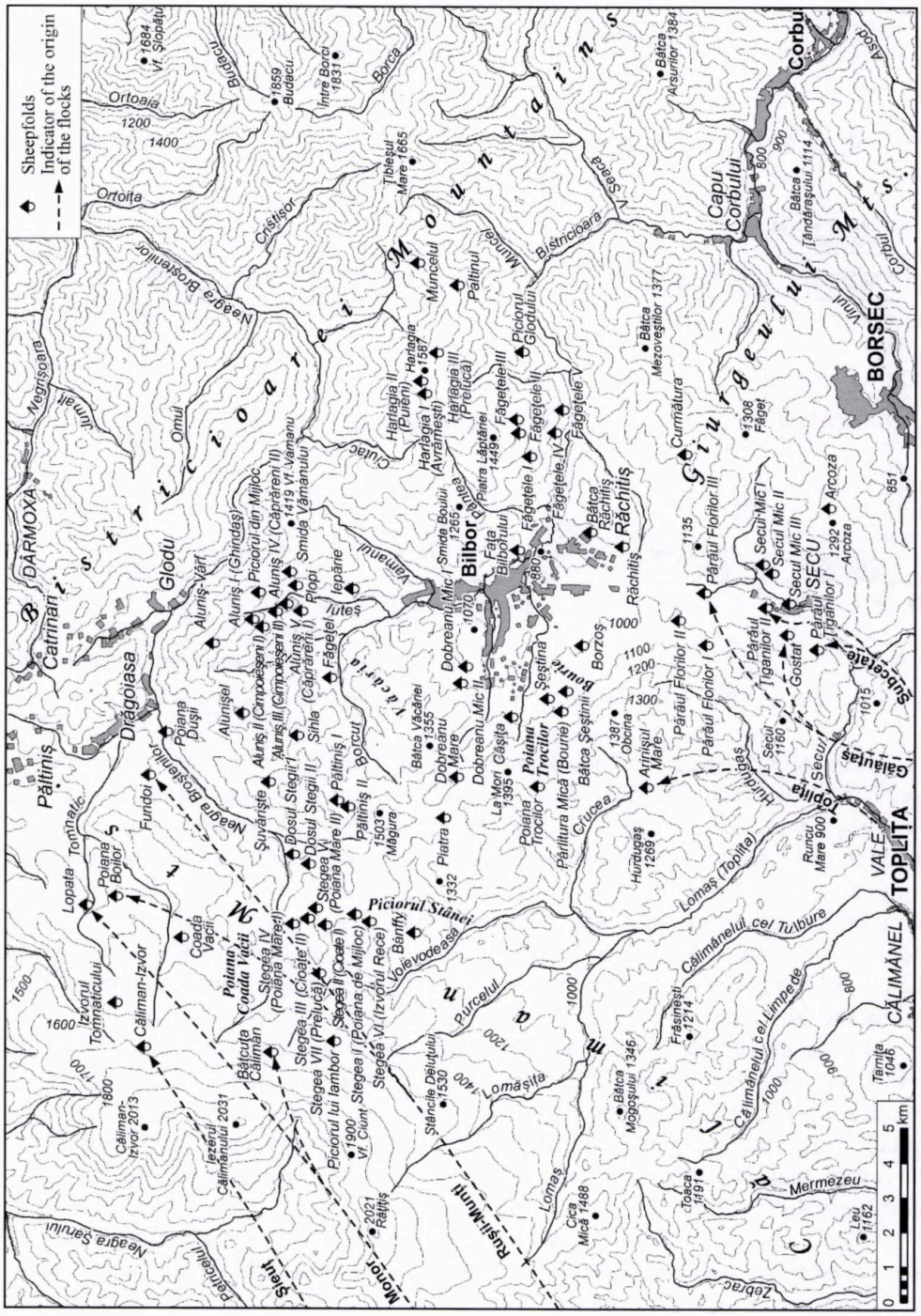


Figure 4: Spatial distribution of sheepfolds in the studied area. Source: authors

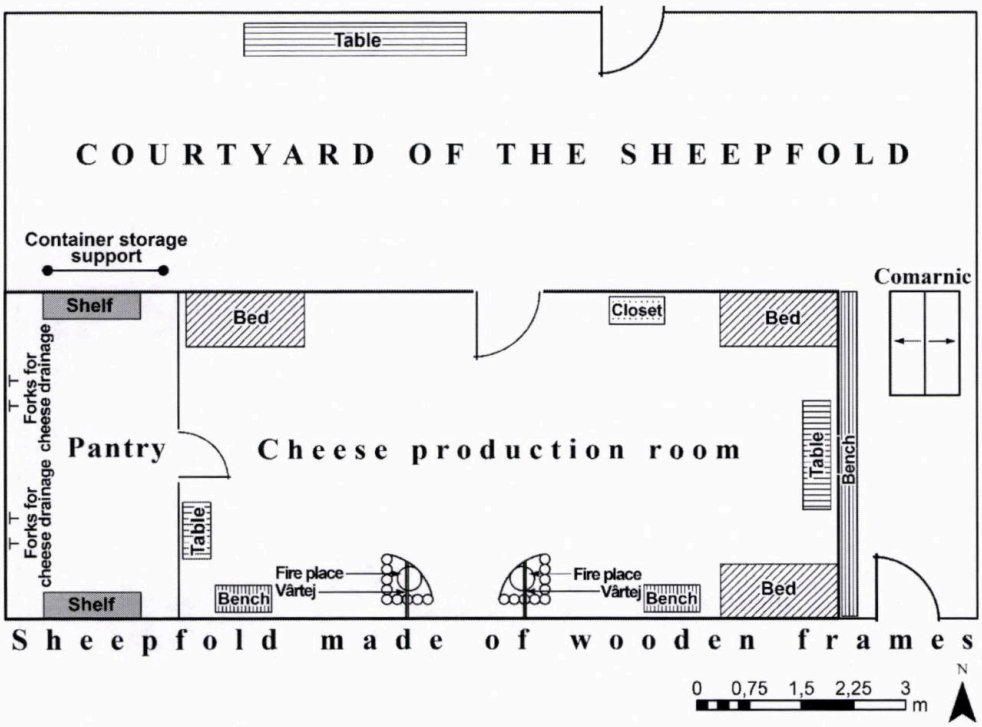


Figure 5: Plan of a two-chamber sheepfold (Dobreanu Mic I). Source: authors

The second, smaller room is the *pantry*, which in some sheepfolds has a wooden floor. The walls have wooden forks mounted on them, which are used for draining the whey from cheese. After a couple of days the cheese is placed on the pantry's racks, in order to dry and ferment. Other liquid dairy products, as well as food and equipment, are placed on racks or benches. The year 2007, when Romania was admitted in the EU, saw the establishment of the "systematic sheepfold", with three rooms - one or sometimes even two bedrooms, a space for dairy production, and the pantry. All these new characteristics are meant to increase the degree of comfort[18], by adding the third chamber, *the bedroom*, and in some cases a *storage area.*

In the immediate vicinity of the village, there are some sheepfolds made of timber with wooden boards. This new type of light construction emerged primarily because it no longer requires the moving of the fold. It is also because simple and crudely manufactured wooden planks are easily available in the commune. Therefore, there are more and more folds with two or three of these constructions, used every 4 or 5 years.

Roofs are A-framed and used to be covered in fir or spruce bark. This was later replaced by wooden planks, bitumen felt or asbo-cement. Wooden tiles were

[18] Bucur, 2003: 128.

rarely used, as these can sustain damages when the sheepfold is moved. Smoke is evacuated through an opening above the fireplace, locally called "fumar". The past decade and a half saw the increased usage of light roofing made of metal sheets. Its durability is extremely high and the materials are cheap. Every sheepfold is surrounded by a courtyard which does not allow animals access to the house.

This is also the place where the "comarnic" (a type of shelter) is located. It has an A-shaped wooden roof and holds the aluminum pots that keep the milk extracted in the evening, thus preventing night time contamination with impurities or rainwater. These pots were usually placed on "wooden forks", made from young spruce roots, similar to a tree-shaped hanger. There are some folds with flat roofs, and even without one, enclosing a milk storage area (Ţărăneşti from Dobreanu Mic or at Preluca from Căliman). The courtyard also hosts wooden supports and a large table, used for storing different objects during the day.

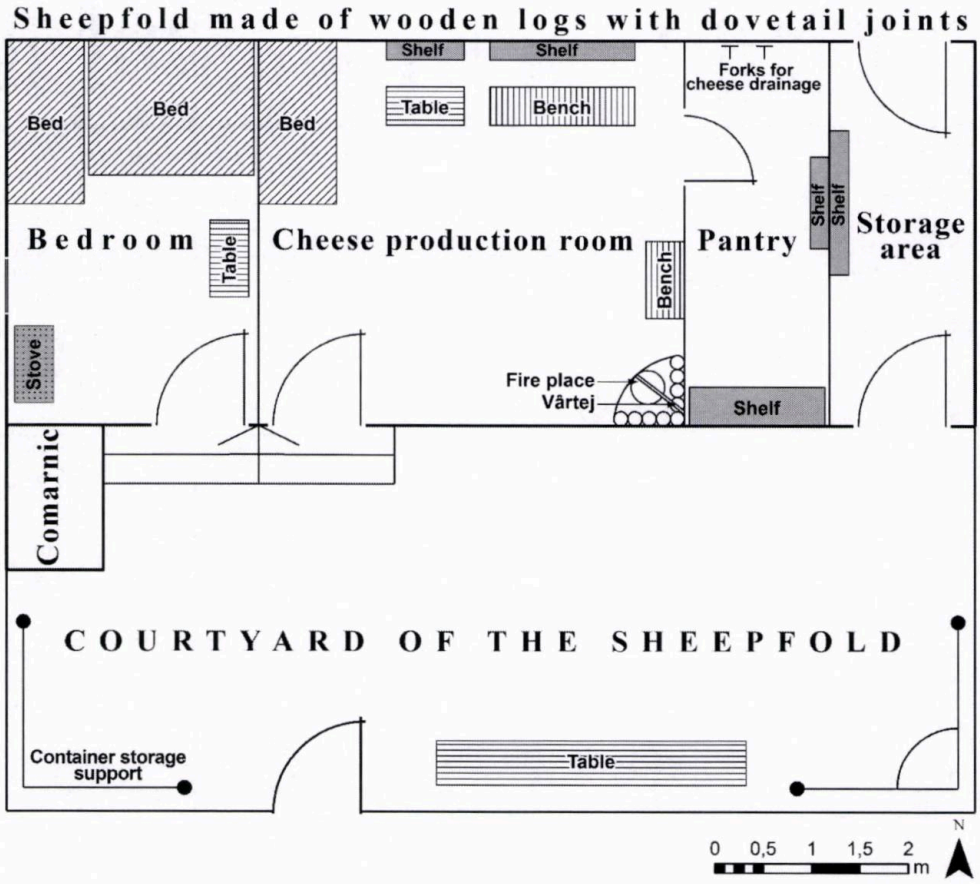


Figure 6 : Plan of a three-chamber sheepfold (Stegea, Izvorul Rece). Source: authors

On the northern side, the fold also used to include a so-called "dog enclosure", surrounded by thin wooden trunks. As pigs are no longer raised in such folds, building such enclosures has been abandoned and behind the main hut lie only small animal enclosures. Sheepfolds are mainly built close to the forest, in south-facing clearings and on low inclined terrains, preferably near water sources. The head shepherd alongside the other animals owners choose its location, while its name is given based on the pasture or the name/ nickname of the person with the most responsibilities. In the studied area, these structures are located between 882 meters (Secu Mic III) and 1,558 meters (Harlagia II). There are over 60 structures, 7 around Drăgoiasa depression, roughly 52 in Bilbor, 6 in Secu, and one in the Town of Borsec.

Table 1

List of folds from Bilbor Commune and the surrounding area

No. crt.	Location	Surface (hectares)	Altit. (m)	Pasture custodian	Leased	No. animals: with milk / *Sheep* /	No. animals: bovines / *Sheep/ goats*	No. of cheeses	No. of shepherds	Origin of e shepherds
1	Dobreanu Mic I	125.5	1,044	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	90	10	3	3	Bilbor
	Dobreanu Mic II (Țărănești)					30	–	1	1	
2	Câșița	20.6	1,074	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	24	6	1	1	Bilbor
3	Șeștina	43.0	1,040	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	28	17	1	1	Toplița
4	Bâtca Șeștinii	35.8	1,032	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	27	5	1	1	Bilbor
5	Pârlitura Mică (Bourie)	27.7	1,080	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers..	42	8	1	1	Bilbor
6	Borzoș	7.1	1,016	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	40	20	2	1	Bilbor
7	*Dobreanu Mare*	109.0	1,312	Lăzarea MO.	Phys. pers.	28	12	–	2	Bilbor
						240	***73***		4	
8	*Poiana Trocilor*	60.2	1,322	Lăzarea MO.	Phys. pers.	17	5	–	2	Bilbor
						150	***100***		2	Hangu
9	Piatra	30.5	1,337	Private prop.	–	20	12	1	1	Bilbor
10	Stegea I (Poiana din Mijloc)	42.5	1,365	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	26	8	1	1	Corbu
11	Stegea II (Cioate 1)	59.2	1,381	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	48	30	2	2	Bilbor
12	Stegea III (Cioate 2)	59.2	1,379	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	38	–	1	2	Bilbor
13	Stegea IV (Poiana Mare 1)	56.6	1,394	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	18	4	1	1	Bilbor
14	Stegea V (Poiana Mare 2)	57.3	1,361	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	40	10	1	2	Bilbor
15	Stegea VI (Izvorul Recea)	51.0	1,374	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	27	14	1	1	Bilbor
16	Stegea VII (Prelucă)	68.6	1,393	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	42	18	3	3	P. Neamț
17	Dosul Stegii I	37.7	1,215	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	26	14	1	1	Bilbor
18	Dosul Stegii II	37.7	1,215	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	20	13	1	1	Bilbor
19	Bánffy	30.0	1,235	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	27	10	–	2	Bilbor, Pipirig
20	Poiana Dușii	22.0	1,058	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	28	14	–	1	Bilbor
21	Coada Vacii	32.6	1,430	Rușii-Munți MO.	Phys. pers.	30	10	–	1	Bilbor

22	*Piciorul lui Iambor*	250.0	1,534	Aluniş MO.	Phys. pers.	40	20	–	1	Bilbor
						300	***500***		4	
23	Păltiniş I	92.6	1,303	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	20	10	1	1	Bilbor
	Păltiniş II		1,260			40	20	2	2	Bilbor
24	Şuvărişte	42.0	1,218	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	20	5	1	1	Bilbor
25	Sihla	41.7	1,248	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	35	10	2	1	Bilbor
26	Făgeţel	30.0	1,046	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	20	5	1	1	Corbu
27	Alunişel	72.1	1,272	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	50	25	2	1	Bilbor
28	Aluniş -Vârf	66.4	1,412	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	45	15	2	2	Bilbor
29	Aluniş I (Ghindaş)	40.0	1,321	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	21	9	1	1	Bilbor
30	Aluniş II (Cimpoieşeni I)	41.0	1,286	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	17	6	1	1	Bilbor
31	Aluniş III (Cimpoieşeni II)	40.0	1,230	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	19	6	1	1	Bilbor
32	Aluniş IV (Căprăreni I)	29.7	1,220	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	20	3	1	1	Bilbor
33	Aluniş V (Căprăreni II)	33.2	1,172	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	16	5	1	1	Bilbor
34	Piciorul din Mijloc	31.4	1,291	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	18	6	1	1	Bilbor
35	Smida Vămanului	30.1	1,272	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	20	4	–	1	P. Neamţ
36	Plopi	63.0	1,195	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	18	7	–	1	Bilbor
37	Iepărie	84.2	1,100	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	28	12	1	1	Bilbor
38	Fata Bilborului	45.1	987	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	28	10	1	1	Bilbor
39	Bâtca Răchitiş	43.0	1,024	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	24	7	1	1	Bilbor
40	*Răchitiş*	68.0	1,027	Lăzarea A.	Phys. pers.	30	4	1	2	Bacău
						220	***80***	–	2	Bilbor
41	Făgeţele I	34.5	1,160	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	18	10	1	1	Bilbor
42	Făgeţele II	26.7	1,278	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	18	5	1	1	Bilbor
43	Făgeţele III	56.8	1,278	Bilbor MO.	Zimbrul A.	24	8	1	1	Bilbor
44	Făgeţele IV	27.3	980	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	25	6	1	1	Bilbor
45	Făgeţele V	31.3	976	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	18	6	1	1	Bilbor
46	Piciorul Glodului	37.3	1,115	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	25	5	1	1	Bilbor
47	*Paltinul*	28.3	1,366	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	***30***	***30***	-	1	Bilbor
						40	*40*			
48	Muncelul	38.2	1,418	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	28	13	1	1	Bilbor
49	Harlagia I (Avrămeşti)	24.1	1,552	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	17	14	–	1	Bilbor
50	Harlagia II (Puieni)	38.5	1,558	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	20	10	1	1	Bilbor
51	Harlagia III (Prelucă)	36.5	1,511	Bilbor MO.	Alunişul A.	30	22	1	2	Roznov
52	Curmătura	11.6	1,078	Bilbor MO.	Phys. pers.	20	5	1	1	Bilbor
53	Pârâul Florilor I	25.0	1,014	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	22	11	1	1	Subcetate
54	Pârâul Florilor II	28.0	969	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	25	7	1	1	Bilbor
55	*Arcoza*	52.0	1,225	Lăzarea MO.	Phys. pers.	22	7	–	1	Bilbor
						21	–			
56	Secu Mic I	40.0	919	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	37	15	1	1	Topliţa
57	Secu Mic II	47.0	923	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	31	15	–	3	Bilbor
58	Secu Mic III	35.0	882	Bilbor A.	Phys. pers.	30	25	–	1	Bilbor

Bilbor MO = Bilbor Mayor's Office; Lăzarea MO. = Lăzarea Mayor's Office; Ruşii-Munţi MO. = Ruşii-Munţi Mayor's Office; Aluniş MO. = Aluniş Mayor's Office; Bilbor A. = Bilbor Association; Lăzarea A. = Lăzarea Association; Private. prop. = Private property; Phys. pers. = Physical person; Alunişul A. = Alunişul Association; Zimbrul A. = Zimbrul Association; *Piciorul lui Iambor* = mixed sheepfold; 90 = cows; 220 = sheep; 40 = goats.

"Cobărul" or "colibuța" (*small hut*), is a mobile primitive shelter, used for sleeping, positioned in front of the fire. It is located on the opposite side of the sheepfold, near the animal enclosures, for better surveillance and protection against wild animals.

Cooking is usually done using a kettle, the most widely spread foods being: *cream cheese,* sour cream with cottage cheese, "jintița", *cheese polenta*, *sweet milk polenta, bread with bacon and onions*, and sometimes "balmoş", made from boiled sweet sheep or cow milk, and corn flour.

Cow enclosures ("văcării")

Cow enclosures are based on the association of a relatively low number of household owners (5-7), on criteria of proximity or kinship, calling themselves "familiars". They own around 20-28 cows, making their own cheese or delivering milk to a collection center, both through rotation. When the number of cows is larger than 30, this constitutes another group, locally known as "al doilea caş" (loosely translated "the second cheese"). The head herdsman, with a few owners, begin looking for shepherds in early spring (April). These employees are mostly poor orphan children or teenagers, either locals or from the Region of Neamț (Pipirig, Hangu, Borca etc.). Dairy products are produced "taking turns", meaning those who owe cattle are "planned" at least one month in advance.

Milk is measured and given to the one making cheese, who writes in a special notebook each quantity. Every host from the fold owns such a notebook and when he is called to prepare his cheese, he writes the quantities to be handed over or received.

This operation used to be done on a round or square log known as *tallie*, on which ranchers inscribed the following: one line meant 10 liters, half a line a pot (3 liters) while a dot meant a cup - half a liter. This system enabled the preservation of data, as each loan used to be compensated between owners, until all debts were paid off.

Many frequently used the following expression: "I gave the cows for cheese", implying that not all ranchers prefer making cheese during summer. This meant that the cheese quota depended on the measuring of the evening milk, during Pentecost, giving 10 kg of cheese/1 liter of milk and 1 kg of whey cheese/10 kg of cheese. The last couple of years saw the emergence of a "multiple folds with a sole owner" system, only if said ranchers own enough stock, thus making the need for an association futile. In almost every fold, milking is performed manually, twice a day, once in the evening, around 8 pm, and once in the morning, around 4 am, a professional rancher being able to milk 10-15 cows/shift. In the evening, this procedure can also be performed two hours in advance. Afterwards, the cows are taken to graze in the nearby clearings, until dusk. This custom, called "porneală", aims to attain an approximately equal quantity of milk in the evening as well as in the morning. There are thee manual milking procedures that are known:

"full hand milking", "knot milking" and "two-finger milking". Choosing between them depends on the characteristics of the cow's udder and difficulty of milking each animal.

Picture 2: Cow milking (Dobreanu Mic I, 2018). Source: authors

To stimulate the ruminant process and thus an increased milk production, each rancher used to give the animals grounded salt mixed with wheat every week, especially on Saturday, (4 kg for 7-8 animals). This feeding custom was eventually abandoned, as, nowadays, the entire herd of cows is fed chunks of salt, placed on wooden supports named "crivale". During dry years, at the end of summer, the pastures lose most of their vegetation. This leads to the need to leave the pasture area for a fresh new one, untouched by animal owners from the hill area (Monor, Ruşii-Munți, Budacu de Sus, etc). Around 1st October, the cattle descend from the mountains towards their winter quarters. Only a few remain on the mountain, for roughly two weeks, depending on the weather.

The construction used by ranchers for sheltering cattle herds is called "ocol" (*cattle pen*), ovally shaped, usually located near the forest, utilised both as animal enclosure - shelter as well as milking area. It has two or three wooden gates, with several stakes used for opening and closing the yard, locally known as "zăvoare" (locks).

Depending on weather conditions, every 3-4 weeks, or when the pen is over 80% manured, the ranchers move the animals to a clean area. This process also enables a natural fertilization of the land, a process called "târlire".

Picture 3: Sheepfold from Dobreanu Mic (Țărănești). Source: authors

Picture 4: Sheepfold from Aluniș Mountain (Căprăreni II). Source: authors

Picture 5: Sheepfolds from Căliman Mountains (Stegea, Poiana din Mijloc).
Source: authors

Sheepfold

Sheep gathering in flocks used to take place between 1st-10th May each year, at a certain area, where each owner was expected to bring his animals and incorporate them in the flock. The animals were entrusted to a "master", who became the main responsible body for the entire pastoral season. He was designated as master based on several criteria, such as: number of sheep owned, quantity of milk or whether he was trustworthy or a good manager.

This was also recorded by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu of Bilbor, who wrote in his memoirs, *Confessions* (1976), that "... rarely did a fellow local have enough sheep to have his own sheepfold. Most people got together, picked a head shepherd and formed a sheepfold under the name of the man with the most animals. Those with a few sheep had to beg to be admitted"[19].

Both "the master" and the sheep owners have mandatory tasks (rights and duties), which have been traditionally set and have to be strictly followed[20], one of them having the obligation to remain at the sheepfold the next day in order to provide assistance in organising the shelter, the hut or other things needed[21]. Beginning in the 1970s, this process of flock formation was simplified, as the sheep are now taken two-three days after St. George's Day directly to the head shepherd's household. The head, alongside his shepherds, proceeds to take the flock to the mountain pastures. The first day, he prepares the cheese and other dairy products, offering each owner sweet cheese and whey cheese.

[19] Tăslăuanu, 1976: 54.
[20] Idu, 1999: 174.
[21] Stan et Stan, 2005: 225.

The shepherds then take the sheep grazing, while the remaining host of invites celebrate. After two or three weeks, there is a second important event, called *milk measuring*, which usually takes place on 21st May (Saints Constantine and Helen) or, in many cases, on the Sunday before Pentecost. All the fellows on the fold proceed and milk their own sheep. The quantity of milk measured determines the cheese quota every owner gets when he is called.

A *small lamb or kid* is usually sacrificed and used as the main ingredient for a cheese boiled stew with thyme, served with polenta, as well as steak. Another custom, nowadays lost, was "the cheese calling", when the owners' relatives were allowed to come to the fold, while the head shepherd gave them balmoș and sheep butter. Each man could once again watch over his animals as they were being milked, receiving their quantity of cheese. Those who brought *rennet*, also received 250 g of butter per sheep. The remaining products were sold and the money equally divided among the shepherds. Nowadays, there is an average agreement for each procedure, regardless of milk production, in the form of 6 kg of cheese and 1 kg of sweet cheese, the head distributing the products to each household.

The pastoral hierarchy is also traditionally established. *The coordinating head master* ("baci"), has the most important duties, sometimes even hiring a separate person to manage the thickening of milk; *the shepherds* ("mulgari"), (for each 100 sheep there is a shepherd) are usually doing most of the work and the ones who milk the animals; *the barren animal overseer* ("sterpar"), who oversees the barren animals and sometimes milks the sheep, and *the breach overseer* ("strungar"), usually a child whose task is to guide the sheep to the eclosures.

Roughly 40-50 m from the fold is the *sheep enclosure*, regularly located on steeper ground to avoid mud, and hexagonal or octogonal in shape. It is made of a mobile wooden fence (3-4 m length and 1.5-2 m high), which enables its easy translocation. Behind the enclosure lies a large gate where sheep enter, while on the opposite side there are 3-6 narrow openings called "spătări", through which sheep pass one by one during the milking procedure. The shepherds sit on logs or stools on both sides of that structure. The "strungar" guides the animals with a stick, pushing them one by one towards the openings, yelling: "Brâ la strungă" ! („To the breach"!), from time to time. Sheperds have recently begun using small dogs for this process as well.

The shepherds are protected from the rain by a crudely constructed wooden roof called "comarnic". To avoid getting mud on their clothes and boots, the shepherds also place a wooden board on the ground.

The *stall* is a yard used for sheltering sheep during the night, made of two parts, one for sheep and one for barren and rams. This enclosure used to be named "seci", and is made of tree branches resulted from pasture clearing procedures. Nowadays, it is made of wooden boards with metal meshes or electric fences. It has a round or a rectangular shape and is located fairly close to the fold. The true "art" of shepherding lies primarily in knowing how to milk the animal in such a manner that it does not lose its milk.

Picture 6: Sheep milking (Muncelul, 1982). Source: authors' personal archive

A skillful shepherd can milk approximately 80-100 sheep per shift. The ability of the shepherd to make good cheese is also crucial, in order for it to sell well and thus bring fame to the owners[22]. Around 14th October, the day of Saint Parascheva, the sheep are "picked" ("sheep riot"), some of the locals retrieving them from the mountain and beginning to prepare them for winter. In the middle of September, the sheep are no longer able to give milk, thus the milking procedures stop.

THE INSTRUMENTS AND TOOLS IN A SHEEPFOLD

Of great importance for all shepherds and ancillary personnel are the tools. Each fold contains the following tools and instruments:

– *wooden milk pail*, a tall vessel made of parallel wooden planks, its mouth wider than its base, with a capacity of 8 and 12 liters; its handle is made of a longer wooden plank with a circular or rectangular hole, while its exterior bears the initials of the owner; it was used for cow milking or fetching water from the spring; these wooden vessels were eventually replaced by metal 10 liter containers, with the owner's initials painted on them;

– at the sheepfold, a common tool was the *10 liter milking bucket*, narrower at the mouth, always used alongside a half a liter *sycamore cup*; it had two small handles which allowed it to be placed between the string handles of the bucket; its role was to prevent the splashing of milk during measurement or transport; this tool was also eventually replaced by an aluminum bucket and cup;

[22] Idem: 232.

– *the canister or the jug* is a container used to hold and transport milk, which has been used in folds for the last couple of decades; it has 25 liter capacity and is built of hardened aluminum or plastic, with an aluminum, rubber or plastic sealing lid; these containers have a extremely polished inside and side handles for transport;

– *the aluminum device for milk measuring*, with a graded float of up to 15 liters, utilized in the Bilbor sheepfolds since the 2000s; prior to this, milk was measured using aluminum containers (3 liters, 1 liter and half a liter); more than a century ago, milk was measured using different vessels (1-7 liters), called "mertic", or a smaller receptacle called "şuştar", between 5 and 8 liters. For those with few sheep, the milk was measured using an even smaller vessel and a stick called "tandalic";

– *the aluminum pails* have two handles and a total volume between 80 and 120 liters; primarily used for storing milk as well as producing whey cheese;

– *wooden curdling tank* and *wooden small curdling tank* are constructed of spruce planks, fastened with iron rings, shaped in the form of an inverted cone; on one side, it has a wooden handle with a circular hole in it, for easy usage; the so called "ciubăr" can hold 150-200 liters and has a wooden lid, while the wooden small curdling tank is smaller, 30-50 liters; both containers are used for the preparation of cheese or storing drinking water; in our field research, we observed that wooden containers are being gradually replaced by aluminum ones, as the latter are easier to clean and maintain; however, aluminum containers have the disadvantage that milk cools faster and the head shepherd must be extremely careful not to ruin the produce; the only sheepfold where wooden vessels are still being used today is "Căprăreni 2", on Aluniş Mountain;

– *the wooden curdled milk tanks with cap*, is a small barrel of different shapes (round or elliptical), made of wooden planks fastened with metal or hazel tree rings, with lids at both ends, the top one having a square wooden cork; it was used to prepare and store sour or fermented milk; it gradually fell from use and was replaced by plastic containers;

– *the wooden basin*, is another wooden plank container of variopus sizes, with a circular lid on top; it is used to store the sour whey necessary for making whey cheese, as well as storing kneaded cheese during winter; the cheese is kneaded (worked) with a *cheese pestle*, a meter long wooden instrument, round and thicker on one side, and with a pyramid shaped motif on the other;

– *the butter churn*, is a wooden vessel, between 1-1.5 m in height, with a lid perforated in the middle; through this opening, a stick is introduced and, through repeated vertical movements, the sour cream and the "jintuit" is turned into butter; it is not used at the fold;

– *the cast-iron kettle* is a vessel of various volumes (5-40 l), with two handles united through a larger handle grip; it is used to boil water, milk, polenta and other foods;

– *pot holder*, a metal household item, made of an iron ring, with three legs, on which the kettle is put over the fire; locals also use different steel wire hooks for this procedure;

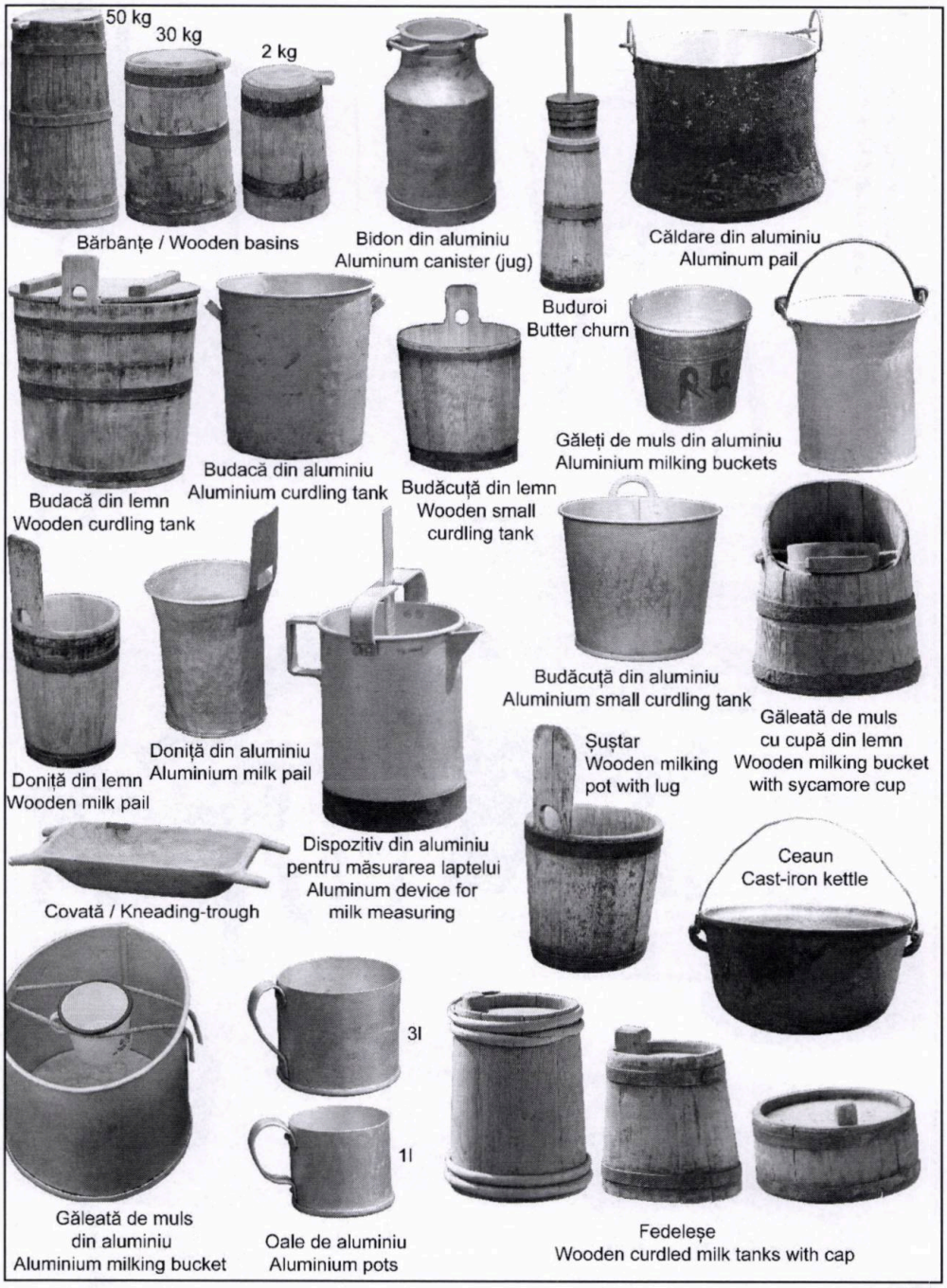


Figure 7: The pots in a sheepfold. Source: authors

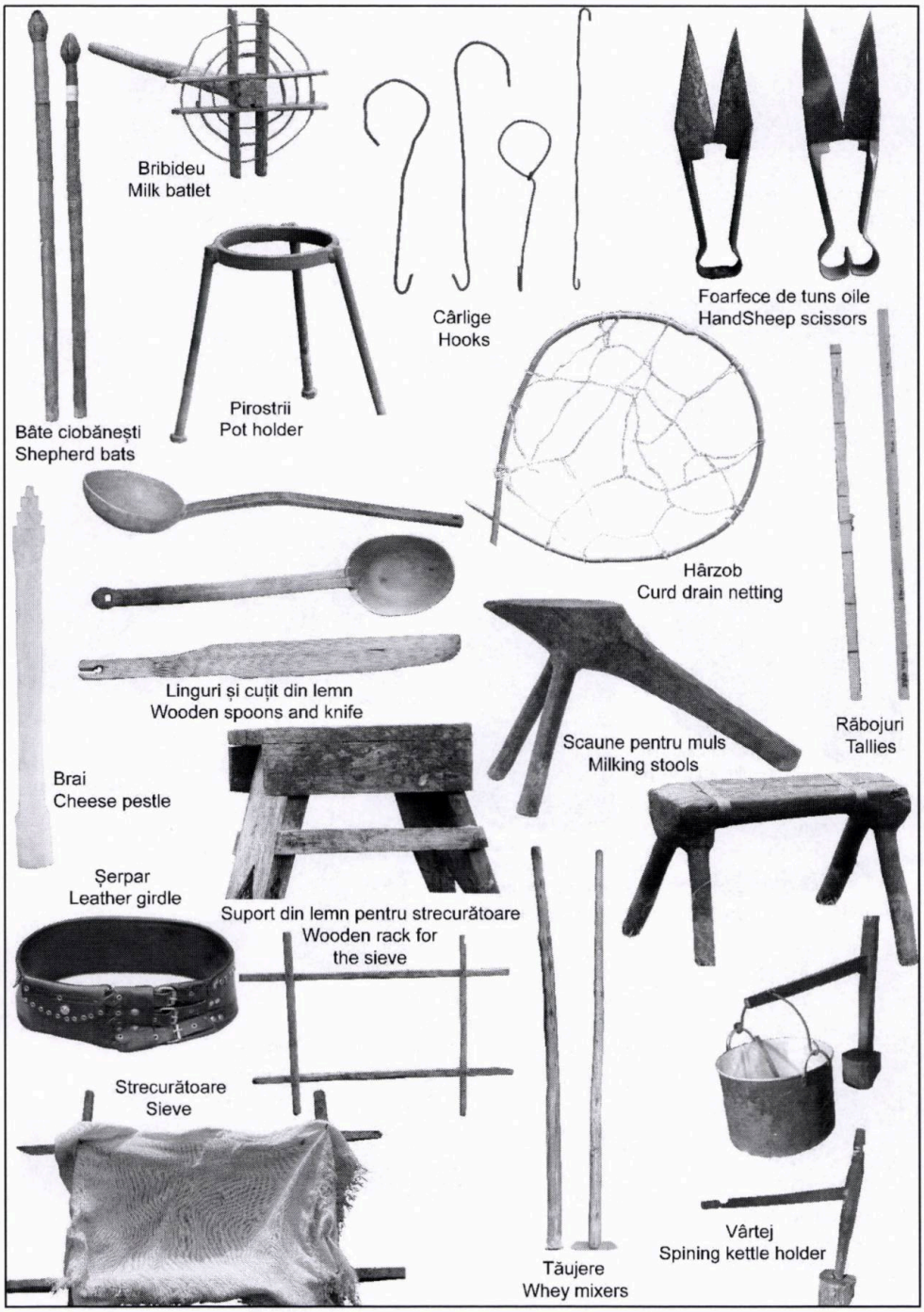


Figure 8: The intruments in a sheepfold. Source: authors

– *milk batlet*, a bat with a thicker end and cross that has wooden or metal rings, used to mix the sour coagulated milk and obtain a homogenous mixture and sweet cheese;

– *whey mixers*, is a wooden bat with a flower shaped end, used to stir the whey so it does not stick to the bottom of the kettle; this tool is currently difficult to find in sheepfolds, as it has been replaced by a bat with a spatula shaped end;

– *the large wooden spoon*, with a curved or straight handle, 50 cm long, is primarily used to pick cream, as well as for gathering the sweet cheese, foam and the whey cheese;

– *the wooden knife*, a primitive instrument, utilized to cut the sweet milk before it is taken out of the containers;

– *curd drain netting*, a ring made of hazel tree branches woven with aluminum wires, over which the canvas used to drain the milk is positioned; it is not found in every fold, as it has been replaced by a rectangular or square wooden frame, with nails in each corner pointed upwards on which the canvas is fastened;

– *the sieve* is a piece of cotton or flax, used to strain the milk that is about to be poured in the wooden containers, after being extracted; in some areas, people used a very thick wire strainer.

Following EU requirements, people tend to gradually replace their wooden tools and containers with aluminum and stainless steel instruments, unfortunately contributing to the downfall of the wood craftsman economy.

DAIRY PRODUCT PREPARATION TECHNOLOGIES

It is a highly complex process which, alongside the specific tools, requires skill and following certain rules and procedures in milk preparation. Above the unboiled milk, taken a day before and stored in aluminum containers, a thin layer of white-yellow cream is formed. This layer is high in fat and is traditionally known as "groscior" (locally "groştior"), which is then extracted with the large wooden spoon to be used in making butter or cooking.

After the creaming, the milk is mixed with the freshly extracted milk and poured directly in the wooden curdling tank. Cheese preparation requires that the milk temperature be around 30-40°C. The warm milk from the wooden curdling tank is added a *coagulant*, made of lamb or calf stomach – "rânză" (up to six weeks), for a better quality. The stomach cavities of small sacrificed lambs and calves are kept as the mucous secretes an active enzyme (fermentation agent) which can coagulate casein. These are stored and salt is added on the inside as well as on the outside of the cavity. The upper part is then sown shut to avoid leakage, locals recommending the product be smoked. This is stored for at least one year, in a clean space, until it dries. Then the content is emptied, smashed into pieces to be easily dissolved in warm water, strained, and poured into bottles. Before being used, the ferment must be tested, a drop in spoon of milk. If the milk coagulates, it means the product is safe.

A smidge of unboiled milk is added to the prepared product, as well as a small quantity of salt. It is then poured in the wooden curdling tank with the wooden spoon, proportionally with the quantity of milk, to avoid a coarse and friable cheese. The milk is then stirred for almost three minutes and the container is covered with a wooden lid, leaving it for 45-60 minutes to harden. In the last decade, cheese producers began replacing natural coagulants with synthetic substitutes (tablets, powder or liquid), sold in veterinarian pharmacies. These substitutes allow the milk to ferment at a much faster rate. During the coagulation of the milk, shepherds obtain "străgeata", which is then cut with the wooden spoon in the shape of the Holy Cross. It is deposited for approximately 5-10 minutes until the whey rises to the top, and then, using the milk batlet, it is stirred until it reaches the consistency of an thick milk paste.

Afterwards, it is gathered by hand and stirred again with the wooden spoon in the same direction until the entire quantity of cheese comes together. It is cut into 3-4 pieces with the knife and put in the wooden small curdling tank, pressed by hand until the whey comes out, and then put in the budacă. It is broken into small pieces and later gathered again by hand, this time until the thicker whey comes out, called "jintuit"(or "jântuit"). After being taken out of the wooden small curdling tank, it is placed on a thin cloth locally known as "străcătoare", which is stretched on the wooden lid of the wooden curdling tank. In the middle of the cheese, the worker drills a hole which allows the whey to drain, after which the cloth has its ends tightly knotted and placed on wooden forks, being fastened with "wooden screws", between the beams of the pantry. The cheese is left there to drain for one or two days. Its shape after of the drainage process is almost circular, with a 30-35 cm diameter and a thickness of 15-20 cm. Later, the cheese is stored on the shelves of the pantry, which have holes that allow a better ventilation and thus a better hardening. Each wheel of cheese is marked with Roman numerals in charcoal, for identification. Unless it is fermented, the cheese is called "green" and it is neither consumed nor sold. The green cheese, when pressed, leaks, while the finished product oozes butter. The men of Bilbor also know the cheese by the colour of its crust, as well as its taste. After roughly 15 zile, unless it is not too cold, the cheese ferments. The next process is the preparation of the so called kneaded cheese.

The sweet whey (locally known as "zăr") from the budacă is poured in the aluminum cauldron, which is then hung to boil and turned into whey cheese (urdă). To avoid sparks, spruce wood is used. At its boiling point, the whey cheese is transferred into another container and hung in the comarnic on a wooden fork, to drain. When the whey cheese begins to boil, the worker also extracts its *foam*, which is poured into plastic containers. If the whey cheese is mixed with boiled whey, one gets the "jințiță" (locally known as "jântița"), which is consumed at lunch or given to potential guests. The whey is also used for dish washing and as dog food.

Each dairy producer takes its cheese home. Depending on the number of cows, this operation usually lasts between 1-3 days and a week. The transport of these products used to be carried out with bags, on horseback. The cheese is sliced,

ground using the meat grinder and salt is added. The cheese is then pummeled in the wooden basin, to remove any remaining pockets of air, and stored in cool and well-ventilated areas. Picking the butter also takes place in the household. There are two available manual procedures: the first one and the oldest is done with the butter churn, which implies churning the cream with the milk batlet (difficult and lengthy procedure) until one gets bowls of butter.

The second procedure involves a manual centrifuge that rests on a wooden table. This contraption has a bladed like separator which basically propels the cream towards the sides of the tank. After the butter is done, what remains of the cream is a fatty and slightly salty white liquid, called "zară", which is then removed by washing the container with cold water. The colour of the butter varies from white-yellow to a light yellow. It is compact, homogenous and thick, lacks impurities, and has a cross section that expose drops of clear water and small air pockets.

PASTORAL TOPONOMY

Decyphering the pastoral toponomy of Bilbor and its surrounding area is primarily based on the proper knowledge of the territorial realities by both authors of this paper, alongside the review of old maps, documents and other historical sources. We employed the linguistic, geographical-historical and comparative methods, identifying a single major widely spread compound toponym[23], *Căliman*, as well as some minor and local toponyms[24]. The Căliman oronym derives from the name of a shepherd who used to take his animals grazing in these mountains. Similarly, Harlagia Mountain, with a ridge clearing that once belonged to shepherds named Hîrlav.

There are several names of landforms (geomorphonyms) which attest the existence of old pastoral structures, such as: *Bâtca Văcăriei, Vf. Văcăria, Vf. Piatra Lăptăriei, Piciorul Stânei, Poiana Trocilor, Măgura*. Other oronyms refer to deforestations and the establishment of special pastures for cattle grazing (*Bourie, Smida Boului, Poiana Boilor, Poiana Coada Vacii, Stegea*). Likewise, some streams base their names on former sheepfolds (*Pârâul Stânilor*), while others are named after shepherds and sheep owners (*Pârâul Gicovanu* which comes from Vicoveanu, a shepherd who may have crossed the Bistricioarei Mountains, heading for Căliman), or involve pastural seasons (*Pârâul Tomnatic*).

PASTORAL FOLKLORE AND FESTIVALS

We must strongly emphasize the fact that most of the pastoral folklore from the area has been lost. Examples of pastoral folklore include shepherds' songs and

[23] Țaranu, 1992: 494.
[24] Crețan, 2000: 61.

pipe melodies („trișcă"), like "The shepherd who lost his sheep", sung during "milk measuring". We therefore present some simple yet beautiful lines from a song who manages to emphasize pastoral life: "Oh green leaf/ How beautiful shepherding is/ You eat whey, you eat cheese/ Also playing the flute/ To pass the time/ Dressed in your sheep-wool coat./ Since in the montain clearing/ Only flowers are plenty,/ And sheep graze beside you/ With the bells ringing too"[25].

The active pastoral repertoire has several songs from the ethnofolkloric area of Toplița, such as: "At the milk measuring", "If May would come", "Up in the Călimani" and "Varvigeanca", sung by the vocalists of the "Rapsodia Călimanilor" Ensemble from Toplița, Harghita County. There are also some melodies which accompany young men dances, like: "Bătuta ciobănească" or "Peste botă"[26], as well as the New Year's custom of "Mersul cu Capra"[27]. Toplița has been hosting a national festival/competition, called "Miorița", since 1976, with the aim of preserving and highlighting pastoral and folkloric traditions. This festival is held every two years, while some editions have included a series of ethnographic-themed lectures. The 21st edition of the event took place in October 2018. Other similar celebrations include "The Shepherds' Festival of Bistricioara", organized since 2010, and "The Festival of the Carpathian Mountains", both events taking place in Tulgheș, Harghita County.

ANCIENT BELIEFS AND PRACTICES (SUPERSTITIONS)

We reviewed a series of local customs and ritual-magical superstitions linked to shepherding. Therefore, we found some incantation variants deeply embedded in the passive repertoire, regarding animal healing and protection against weasel and snake bites, as well as cow afflictions. The rule is that the efficiency of the incantation is directly proportional with the age of the one doing it. This means that elderly shepherds are the ones who usually perform these rituals.

Incantation against weasel bites:

"Mountain stag, you climbed the mountain and got thirsty, / You came down into the valley and drank water/ And you melted as a wheat bread in wine. / Spotted quail, skinny to the bone/ To be cured and of use / Clean as the Lord Christ's face. Amen !".

It is chanted three times, using clean spring water to clean the cow's udders bitten by the weasel. The udder is then milked and the liquid poured through a wedding ring.

Another incantation for the same weasel bite is the following:

„Spotted quail, grab on the skin/ The skin to the bone, the bone to the bug/ And the bug gives the cure". The ritual differs however, as the incantation is said nine times and the water used to wash the udder also contains garlic. The rest of the ritual remains the same.

[25] Stan et Stan, 2005: 226-227.
[26] Truță-Matei, 2005b: 320.
[27] Bucur et Catrina, 2012: 45.

A similar incantation is used for snake bites, the only difference - it is said an extra three times but backwards.

"One inflates, another deflates/ Two inflate, two deflate/ Three inflate, three deflate/ Four inflate, four deflate/ Five inflate, five deflate/ Six inflate, six deflate/ Sever inflate, seven deflate/ Eight inflate, eight deflate/ Nine inflate, nine deflate / Ten inflate, ten deflate/ Eleven inflate, eleven deflate. To be cured and of use. Amen!"

Last but not least, there is a incantation for the "return" of milk, said three times when cow or sheep milk is dwindling.

"Amen, Amen !/ From me the word/ Fullnes from the Lord!/ I alone will cast a spell over you,/ As I with my eyes will fulfill you,/ Milk and butter you will give.../ Dandelion, lion / Your justice be./ If in the forest lost / or in the cask clobbered,/ To come this instant/ In bran and salt/ So the calf can have what to suckle on/ And the housewife what to milk./ And you witch/ Away with you!/ Go to the waterhole/ And take as much water as you need/ Dandelion, lion/ Blessing, blessing from the dew covered field / From all seedbeds From all springs/ Now you shall take/ As much milk as you need/ Wild marjoram, pail filled to the brim!"[28].

There are also several superstitions which share common characteristics with the ones from Bucovina[29]. Many are forgotten, but the ones who still remain refer to the health of the animals and their protection against wild beasts.

CONCLUSIONS

An initial conclusion is that we are now witnessing a period of regress in this economic sector, primarily evident in the penury of staff[30]. In our field research, we met many head masters who have complained about the difficulties of finding skillful and hardworking shepherds. There have also been cases of shepherds abandoning their contractual duties in full summer. To counteract said problem, in some sheepfolds located in the proximity of villages (Dobreanu Mic, Fața Bilborului, Câşița etc), owners resort to hiring 3-4 "fellows" from the area, who work interchangeably, each for one week.

These kind of associations, as well as the type of pastoral structure (*simple pendulation*, with immobile sheepfolds on natural mountain grassland, far from any settlement), makes for an atypical model both for the villages located on the mid stream of Bistricioara (Corbu, Tulgheş), as well as for the rural settlements on the Upper Mureş Valley[31]. In these areas, cattle "are not taken up the mountain" in summer, and their fodder is provided by lowland pastures and hayfields. This is a local agricultural practice[32], with no fold.

[28] Stan et Stan, 2005: 191.
[29] Pavelescu, 1944 : 45.
[30] Popa, 2010: 68.
[31] Marc, 2010: 55.
[32] Vuia, 1964: 34.

This economic sector is not limited solely to cattle droving, but also includes the processing of animal products. As pastoral life usually takes place far from any major settlement, the milk has to be processed in situ, and the obtained dairy products (cheese, whey cheese, butter, cream etc) are primarily used in-house, only the surplus being marketed. As dairy is almost impossible to sell due to poor demand on the market, especially in early summer (June and the first 10 days of July), farmers have no choice but to deliver their milk to communal collection centers. Milk is bought and resold by two intermediaries (*"Ranchers' Association" and "Straja Călimanilor"Agricultural Association*), which have contracts with two large dairy producers (*Hochland* from Sighişoara and *Napolact* from Cluj-Napoca). However, these offer subpar prices, 25-30% lower than on the free market (1-1.2 lei/liter of milk with a fat content of 3.5% or above).

According to the data presented in table 1, the Commune of Bilbor has no officially registered sheepfolds, since the local authorities failed to designate pasture areas for such uses. Therefore, there are seven *mixed* structures accommodating cattle, sheep and goats (Răchitiş, Dobreanu Mare, Poiana Trocilor, Piciorul lui Iambor, etc), which process milk immediately after extraction.

The average amount of cheese produced is 6-7 kg/sheep and 40-50 kg/cow, while the total annual quantity exceeds 250 tonnes in Bilbor. Dairy products can be purchased directly from ranchers in the marketplaces of Toplița, Borsec, Gheorgheni, Miercurea-Ciuc, Reghin, and Vatra Dornei, as well as from middlemen. The price listing for the year 2018 is as follows: 1 kg of cheese – 15 lei; 1 kg of whey cheese – 6 lei; 1 kg of butter – 30 lei, and 1 liter of cream – 10 lei. Despite the fact that "Bilbor cheese" is highly appreciated in Harghita County, it has not been yet labelled as a traditional Romanian product.

Payments – *simbria* – used to be made based on simple agreements and were exclusively comprised of products (dairy surplus, clothes or animals[33]). However, "shepherding for money" gradually began to erode this traditional custom and now ranchers and animal owners pay roughly 350-400 lei/cow and 80 lei/sheep, which includes safekeeping and milking for the entire summer. Thusly, depending on his skill and dependability, a shepherd can obtain up to 2,000 lei/month, plus food and tobacco for the entire five month period. All the duties required are performed exclusively by men, while women remain in the village, only occasionally visiting the fold. This implies that mountain shepherding "is the oldest and purest Romanian pastoral activity"[34]. Another issue is the lack of a national programme for processing wool, for uses in the light industry and, more recently, in the construction industry, as eco-friendly insulation. The extremely low prices (0.5 bani-1 leu/kg) and the lack of proper wool storage facilities sometimes compel many locals to set fire to their entire wool stock.

[33] Opreanu, 1930: 20.
[34] Donat, 1966: 297.

There is some progress however. Sheepfolds and cattle pens were upgraded, as almost every location visited has at least one solar panel, which is being used for lighting or powering electric fences. 2018 remains unfortunately a grim year due to increased bear attacks, which caused terrible damage, mainly in the Căliman Mountains, with roughly 50 domestic animals maimed or killed.

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NETNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AND THE ROMANIAN TRADITIONAL BLOUSE "IIA"

SEBASTIAN PAIC

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to highlight main charactheristics of netnography, a research field that is poorly represented in Romanian ethnography, and to apply its specific methods on particular subject, namely the case of online sewing bees, that are more and more popular in Romania. Starting 2012, the interest for traditional costume is of increasing importance, generating multiple specific cultural, economic or social behaviours, initially in virtual enviroment.
Keywords: netnography, sewing-bee, *Semne Cusute*, *La Blouse Roumaine*, traditional Romanian blouse, *iia/iie*.

INTRODUCTION

The online environment is used by an increasing number of people to build communities in which to communicate ideas, get in touch with different people and share various feelings or experiences. The use of the term "virtual" does not mean that, for the members of these communities, its reality is not certain. Robert Kozinetz points out that "These social groups have a 'real' existence for their participants, and thus have an effect on many aspects of behavior, including consumer behavior"[1]. In the online environment people show their preferences for many categories of commercial products, discuss political positions or about various aspects of social, cultural life, etc. According to statistics, on January 30, 2019, 2.32 billion active monthly users (MAUs) were registered on the "Facebook" social network and the global digital population numbers more than 4 billion members. Internet networks are a unique and complex phenomenon that reflects and reveals the life of the participants.

Nentnography is the field of research that applies ethnographic methods, appropriately adapted to the virtual environment, and studies interactions, behaviors, mentalities and creations that are communicated by computer mediation (CMC). The specific methods of netnography involve participatory observation, online interview, quantitative and qualitative statistical analysis, selective and systematic

[1] Kozinetz 1998: 366-371

inclusion of digital approaches, data collection and database operation, representation of research data, etc. Netnography involves a set of positionings and practices enrolled in a historical trajectory, based on a theoretical construct that manifests itself through a system of scholar references and generates a specific way of representing knowledge. Thus, netnographical methods highlight interaction styles, discursive styles and styles of organization and communication, along with rules, practices, rituals, manifestations of creativity, and oral history testimonies that characterise online interactions. The information used are in the form of texts and words, but also in the form of pictures, drawings, photos, audio and video files, web creations, edited audio-video presentations and other digital artifacts. The applications for this type of studies are useful for geography, sociology and anthropology, media studies, tourism and travel, sexuality and gender research, social assistance, addiction research, urban studies, library and informational studies[2].

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In Romanian culture, in the romantic period, beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, the thesis of Dacian origin was launched and quickly became the vector of the autochthonist movements. These ideas were formulated in a polemic spirit to the identity paradigm of Romanic origin. This way, a local mythological school agglutinated[3] wich contrasts the criterion of intrinsic national qualities against the criterion of the noble Latin origin. Consistent with these ideas, they have begun to probe a history that emphasizes the prestige of Dacia (dacians were the ancestors of romanians) and the many virtues of the ancient natives: the courage, the freedom, the superlative image of the Dacian rulers. Another feature of this school is making correlations between characters from romanian folk mythology or ethnographic facts and a series of ancient similar characters and stories. The foundations of a Dacian-Romanian empirical comparative theory is settled, which is viciated by the early-stage methods and poor development of archeology, ethnography and other fields of that period. In the spirit of this movement, many literary or scientific texts appeared; among their authors, Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-1891, liberal politician, lawyer, writer, literary critic, historian and Romanian publicist) had a leading role, together with Mihai Eminescu, Nicolae Densuşianu, Alecu Russo and others. In the light of these texts, the initiative of exploring the peasant world appears as a testimony of cultural immanence, fueling comparative historical, linguistic and archaeological research and also ethnographic collections based on field research or folklore collections exploring and inventorizing the peasant world. Particularly, traditional clothing is emphasis with two purposes: one of the aims is to preserve material and intangible patrimony, namely the

[2] Kozinets 2015: 1-4.
[3] Neagota 2000-2002: 117-132

sewing techniques, respectively the artefacts themselves. The need for preservation is also determined by the fact that the peasant "fashion" is subject to permanent development that lead to fundamental changes from one generation to the next, corresponding to a period of about 25-30 years. Another reason for which traditional clothing is explored is the need of inspiration for new urban clothing creations.

The first publication that include information about the peasant costume is published in 1854 in Iasi (capital of Moldova by the time), by Gheorghe Asachi[4], comprising 14 colored paintings, followed in 1858 by Dimitrie Asachi's travel impressions on the incursion through Bessarabia and the Crimea, with 2 engravings. Elena Cornescu[5] began his activity of collecting old artifacts in villages from Oltenia and Muntenia regions from southern Romania in 1852, motivating his approach through an introductory text to the album that she published only in 1906 and from which we cite the following fragment: "They (traditional stitches) are an ancestral structure that has gone through the centuries without perishing, leaving us traces of an inheritance, which makes us believe that we have also been important once". In the preface of the traditional patterns album published by Elisabeta Brătianu in 1943, it notes that "it was given me to teach my eyes with the costume of our peasants, costume that I saw after a while as fashion in the women's world in Bucharest and Sinaia (the capital of Romania, respective the residence of the Romanian Royal Family)"[6], adding that this are merely an imitation and that it is necessary to keep the originals sheltered against imitations, "which, by the time passing, would have become uglier". These words are emblematic for a whole cultural movement from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, which brings in front of urban public an idealized image of the peasant. Books on traditional costume, edited between the wars and during the communist period, begin, almost without exception, by referring to ancient monuments and artifacts that comprise representations of the inhabitants of these regions, like the Trajan's Column (Rome, Italy), the Trophaeum Traiani Monument from Adamklisi (Dobrogea region)[7,8], Neolithic statuettes (Cucuteni-Trypillia) and the Bronze Age artefacts (urnfield culture -statuette form Cârna)[9]. Also, several works containing drawings with details of cuts and seams for reproduction in recreational activities or in girls' schools were published. The popularity of folk garment is reflected by the portraits of romanians as seen by foreign travelers: the oldest one dates back from the beginning of the 18th century[10], followed by others of great documentary value, inventoried by G. T. Niculescu-Varone[11]. The circulation of this works containing

[4] Asachi, 1854.
[5] Cornescu 1906
[6] Brătianu 1943: 1-2.
[7] Secoşan 1984: 9-18.
[8] Bobu-Florescu 1961: 569-618.
[9] Olaru 2017: 194-199.
[10] Marchiz du Ferriol 1714
[11] Niculescu-Varone 1937:

patterns of traditional shirts from different ethnographic regions in all parts of the country has had an important influence on domestic production, favoring the copying of motifs and ornamental schemes in areas different from those of origin. This phenomenon was also possible due to the introduction of embroidery courses in schools as well as due to the activities of ladies' associations who have been concerned with the recovery of the traditional outfit in areas where it has been replaced by non-traditional clothes. Committees and women's societies have a rich history in the last two centuries, mentioning the establishment of the Romanian Women's Society in Buda in 1815, the Romanian Women's Meeting in Braşov in 1850, or the publishing in 1837 of I. Heliade Rădulescu's "Curierul de ambe sexe" magazine ("Courier of Both Sexes"). Their main aims were of a social-political nature, like the equality of rights, specific freedoms and social protection, but at the same time they were also concerned with cultural actions. The ideological apparatus that transpires from the papers and works published in this period (mainly before the First World War) is at an early stage and is subsumed by Dimitrie Gusti under impressionism and scientific dilettantism[12] .

A special approach to the values of the rural world also had the Romanian Royal Family, by promoting the peasant costume as an emblem of the Romanian culture; both Queen Elisabeth and Queen Mary proudly wore traditional or traditional-inspired outfit, legitimizing the high society ladies' tendency of the time to appreciate and convey the aesthetic and cultural value of folk art. Also such garment pieces were offered as gifts to foreign officials hosted by the Royal Family. The appeal to the identity value of the image of the Romanian peasant was also manifested by decorating the banknotes with romantic peasant representation; likewise, the first printed postcard (1894) surprised Alexandrina Burelly (future wife of Romanian playwrighter I.L. Caragiale) in a traditional costume. Traditional outfit is used by most researchers in Romanian culture for delimitation of the ethnographic areas (over 120 different subzones), being the most varied ethnographic species.

"IIA" – THE ROMANIAN TRADITIONAL BLOUSE AND VIRTUAL SOCIAL NETWORKS

Nowadays an increasing interest on traditional culture is manifested at the level of different social groups and manifested in the virtual environment. One can see after 2012 the appearance of a genuine trend of mass culture that has in the center the emblematic image of the women's shirt of the peasant costume. This shirt, also called "IIE" in some ethnographic areas in Romania, was made by women entirely in the household, starting from hemp or linen seed, to dressing itself, passing through different stages like plant cultivation, fiber production, thread spinning, weaving of cloth, cut, embroidery, dyeing of yarns (wool mainly) for ornamentation. In addition to the obvious weather protection function, peasant

[12] Gusti 1937: 2.

clothes also had aesthetic, ritual, apotropaic function and, above all, the linguistic function – communication of marital status, position within the community and even of the economic power (social positioning).

Within social networks, several pages, groups or blogs centered on the issue of traditional culture in order to promote identity values. In this category, among the first initiatives was the Facebook page "La Blouse Roumaine", established in 2012; the name is borrowed from Henry Matisse's 1940 homonymous painting, representing a woman wearing a Romanian shirt drawn in the characteristic modernist style of the author. This page has accumulated over 180,000 likes on Facebook by end of 2018. One of the activities of this page is the project "Universal Day of Iia", a celebration dedicated to Romanian traditional shirt, created in order to promote Romanian culture both in the country and worldwide. Thus, the 24th of June, which coincides with an important traditional holiday from the traditional calendar, *Sânzienele* (the day of the fairies called "iele"), became the occasion for numerous traditional costumes exhibitions and various events, being adopted after a while by official state institutions such as museums or the Romanian Cultural Institute (ICR). Another activity carried out by the La Blouse Roumaine community is related to highlighting cases where different designers copy traditional pieces without showing inspirational sources: "Give credit" – to recognize the cultural origin of the clothes copied by Tory Burch, Christian Dior ("Bihor not Dior" – Bihor is a region in Romania from where C. Dior allegedly copied a traditional coat), Tom Ford and others.

Another approach is "Semne Cusute" ("Sewn Signs"), also founded in 2012 and structured as a platform on the internet that offers graphic representations of decoration elements and structural features for different models of traditional shirts. The source of inspiration for such schemes are albums published by Erich Kolbenheier (1910), Elena Cuparencu (1927) or Eliza Brătianu (1943) and so forth. The proposed models are generally from the oldest published works, promoting the idea of recovering models from the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the 20th century, models seen as carriers of archaic messages. The emphasis is on styles, motifs and materials used, in order to obtain the most precise copies, regarding stylistic, chromatic and ornamental criteria. The results are shirts of superior aesthetic value, comparable in all respects to over a century old artifact preserved in museums. It should be underlined the fact that later traditional productions (after the First World War) as well as handicrafts, fail to achieve the same technical and aesthetic performance as before.

Modern seamstress, who are agglutinated in virtual communities creating a huge network of pages and groups called "Șezătoare" ("bees") or containing certain regions or ethnographic areas as a regional index of membership (Oltenia sewing IIE, Moldova Sewing IIE, Șezătoare [sewing-bee] Bucharest, and others); of course, alternative groups emerged as a response to some ideological differentiations. The adhesion of a large number of people to this movement has as a background an individual need for rediscover cultural identity in the context of the lack of a coherent direction of values affirmation within the contemporary globalization

trend. Such initiatives have started outside the sphere of specialists - ethnographers, arts historians - and have not had the support of official academic institutions. Sewing one of the old model of *iia* with commercial purpose has proved to be impractical, not because of the high cost of materials but rather because of the long manual execution time.

The large number of members of virtual communities, the broad mobilization, and the rapid evolution of this complex subjected to internal organic transformations, are indexes of a social phenomenon determined by specific interactions and constraints that modulate individual actions. So, within this virtual network, new "social classes" develop with internal reporting, coordinating attitudes and, of course, opposing reactions. The status gained in the newly formed society will be correlated with the taste judgments, which are in fact acts of social positioning, manifested both in the real world and in the virtual world. It is very interesting also how, through the means of virtual communication and socialization, it was created ex nihilo, a need that has become so strong - the need to wear and especially to sew an *iie*. Repeated messages and posts with a right frequency, a contemporary language with innovative feature, striking content sometimes and always with fresh approaches, oriented towards an open and essentially modern audience, are the ingredients of capturing the attention of a broad and up to date range of people. Of course, the discourse has undergone changes over time, giving up gradually, perhaps not definitively, the incipient semiotic attempts. Not even Semne Cusute or La Blouse Roumaine, and other internet pages and blogs, did not avoid old theories which preach a superlative cultural past, whose signs are preserved in peasant artifacts, and which irrefutably embraces a vision of the world with transcendent and cathartic valences. The appeal to these sensitivities have the role of an "argumentation subtleties", resonating with a wide range of people, fascinated by the potential rather than the facts of ethnographic realities.

For the reproduction of a traditional shirt to have the look and resemblance of an old artifact, it is necessary that the materials to be compatible and such materials can no longer be found in the market nowadays. As a result of this observation, the founder of the Semne Cusute community (Sewn Signs) has induced industrial production, and sell the cloth and yarns required, that meet these specific characteristics. Virtual social networking is a favorable environment for disseminating large amount of information and for efficient and rapid communication. Connections are established between individuals with the same concerns through interactions that do not involve direct contact. As we could see before, online projects also involve profitable aspects, offering fashion products inspired by tradition and sewing products, like handmade or industrial fabric, threads, beads, sequins and so on, or even kits containing the materials and information needed to reproduce by yourself an *iia*.

With the emergence of a cultural movement that has a central and causal relationship with the traditional Romanian Blouse *iia*, a large mercantile phenomenon has also developed that implies selling old traditional costumes and antiquities. Over 200 Facebook pages aim to capitalize items purchased in the villages. Most of

those dealing with this antique trade show no scientific, aesthetic, or affective interest on the topic, the primordial intent being the mercantile one. Information on value and ethnographic areas is used only for commercial importance, and sometimes, exactly the new faddists (emerging because of the new trend) provide directions. In the last years, a number of private collections have appeared, containing costumes of lesser or greater value, gathered without direct experience of field research and, implicitly, without the possibility of rigorous documentation of the patrimony owned. Beside this hobbyist, since the nineteenth century and up to 2012 and after that moment, passionate collectors exist, and their voluntary activity has a goal that exceeds aesthetic, nationalistic or purely affective criteria. The number of ethnographic artifacts that are the subject of the underground market is impressive, reaching values in the tens of thousands. Under the conditions of a well-outlined market, price parameters are also regulated, although the fund from which this market starts is of a purely arbitrary nature. We cannot ignore the fact that this trade is only a face of a dynamic economic phenomenon, for instance, the furniture market or peasant icons are declining after 2010.

THE EXPERIMENTAL PART: WORKING METHOD AND EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

The ethnographic research methods used to study this phenomenon were the questionnaire-based survey, interview, documentary record and bibliographic research. Thus, a questionnaire consisting of 27 multiple choice questions, applied in the virtual environment, was applied on groups from a known social network (Facebook). The questions are related to the number of sewn shirts, how they use those shirts, where the sewing techniques have been learned, the reasons why they started to sew, the beginning of the activity, the wearers, the possession and manner how they wear traditional costumes, the place where they were purchased, a series of questions about the opinion of the interviewees about the shirts that were sewn nowadays, their importance, the materials used and the place of their purchase, the involvement of museums and profile institutions in comparison with private initiatives and a series of questions about the social, family, age, gender and level of education. The target group consists of the members of the online sewing communities and aims at highlighting several distinctive marks of them. Practical involvement, belonging to different social categories, age, rural or urban origin was questioned and, through several cross-questions, the motivations for which they adhere to this socio-cultural phenomenon of the present. Sampling type for members of online sewing groups is of random multistage type[13], which involves the choice of a number of groups of individuals who form a population by virtue of a common history - in this case the membership to the sewing groups, respectively

[13] Opariuc 2009: 69-74.

the interest for the traditional Romanian shirt. The questionnaires were applied through the Google Forms platform, being open for completion for one week in November 2018. The number of valid answers is 647 out of a total of 672 (96%).

76% of the respondents sewed at least one shirt, and 27% sewed a single one, 30% between 2 and 5, 12% between 5 and 10 and 7% over 10 shirts. More than half of the respondents (58%) say they have learned sewing techniques by using only or also online resources, 36% in the family and only 5.5% in vocational schools or high schools.

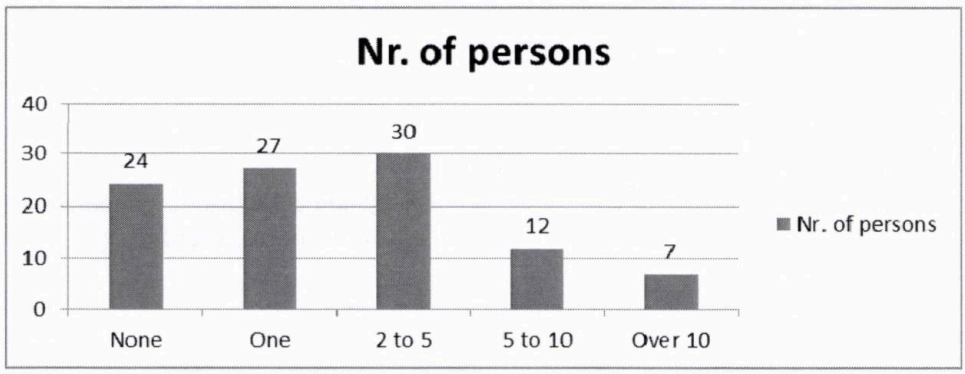

Fig. 1 – Number of sewn shirts.

Specialized bibliographic sources are also very important, directly consulted (23%) or indirectly through the information provided online. Knowing the interest for this kind of activities, in the last 3 years, different producers of adequate materials have emerged and many of the respondents use those sources (60%). Also, antique materials are used, especially old fabric, purchased from handicraft traders or purchased directly from rural areas (32%). A small percentage (6%) of the respondents manage to make their own materials in order to replicate a traditional "IIA". These data are correlated to an approximate number of members of the Facebook groups that is over 40 000, most of which belong to several groups simultaneously (27 502 members on "Semne Cusute în Acțiune" ("Sewn Signs in Action"), 37 370 on "Semne Cusute" ("Sewn Signs") , 11,000 on "Șezătoare București" ("Sewing-Bee Bucharest"), 8,197 on "Oltenia Coase Iie" ("Oltenia is Sewing Iia" - Oltenia is a region in south of Romania) are just a few examples). Those involved in different ways and degrees are resident both in Romania and in other countries (17% are resident in the diaspora, of which 4% in the Republic of Moldova).

The large number of participants in such activities and the specific of the information on the virtual pages are not correlated with the intention to attend a faculty with ethnographic or artistic profile. This is reflected also in the small number of students at Ethnology department in some university centers, such as the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, although a large number of interviewees are

willing to enroll in an ethnology faculty (35%), along with another 23 percent who are planning such an option for the future. The public visibility of the specialized departments is relatively small, with one third of the answers confirming this. Also, the offered curriculum does not meet the needs of the selected target group (3%). The number of those who have already graduated this specialization is very small, only 3 percent. According to these data, the importance that respondents believe universities have in the development of this phenomenon is low (10%), and a more important role is that of private initiatives (60%). Under these circumstances, efforts to attract new students must be correlated with new needs in the broader public sphere. Curricular offer does not currently cover aspects of material and immaterial patrimony, which can be an attraction for new students and, also, an important cultural and research topic. It is also to be said that most of the employees of the ethnographic museums are not graduates of such a specialization, but other humanities fields, especially history, letters, philosophy, archives, journalism, etc.

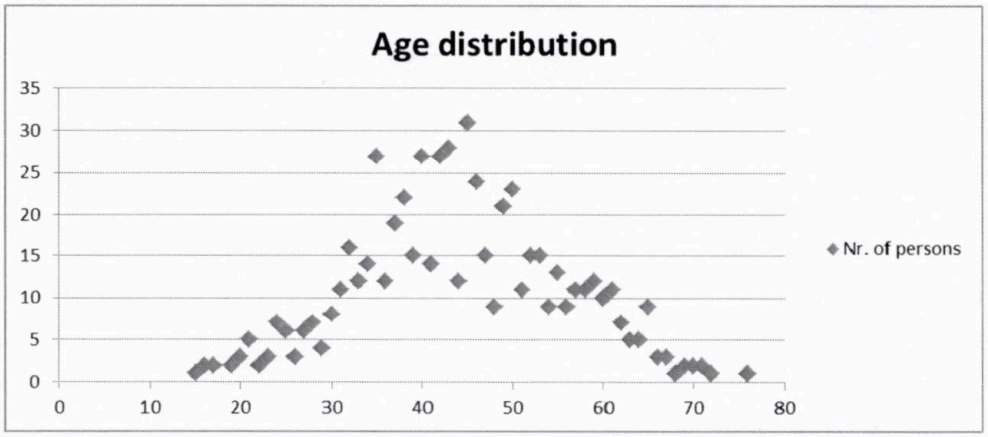

Fig. 2 – Age distribution of sewers.

The age distribution of people involved in sewing projects connote interesting facts about the studied population. Obtained values belong to a quasi-gaussian distribution, ranging from 15 to 76 years, and the highest interest is shown by people aged 35 to 50, with a maximum of 46 and a weighted average of 44, similar to age average. A Gaussian curve is obtained by grouping values in pairs of 5 responses.

The analysis of graduate studies reveals that most respondents have higher education (73%), of which 40% have a bachelor's degree, 27% a master and 5% a PhD. The respondents' occupations lie on a wide beach, mainly teachers (16%), economists (16%), engineers (9%), physicians and nurse (9%), students (5%), psychologists, architects, public servants, librarians, workers, employees and others. Of these, 2 people work as museographers, 9% are housewives and 15% are retired.

The motivational complex underlying the option of sewing traditional shirts has recreational, aesthetic and cultural components. For the majority this activity is a hobby (57% of the answers), but a large number of respondents finds a cultural value in the sense of respect or enabling tradition to continue (46%). Although only 2.5% of interviewees admit adherence to a trend, most of them commenced their craft work after 2012, when we showed that this generalized need was being initiated and created.

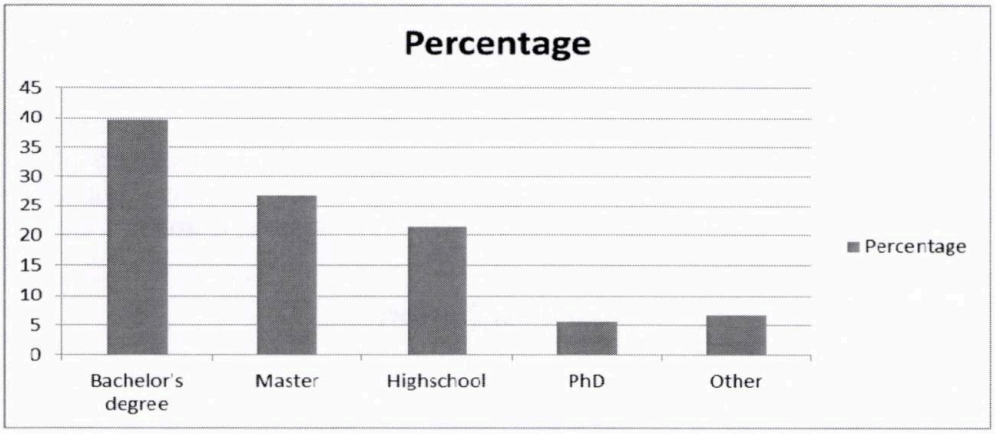

Fig. 3 – Graduate studies.

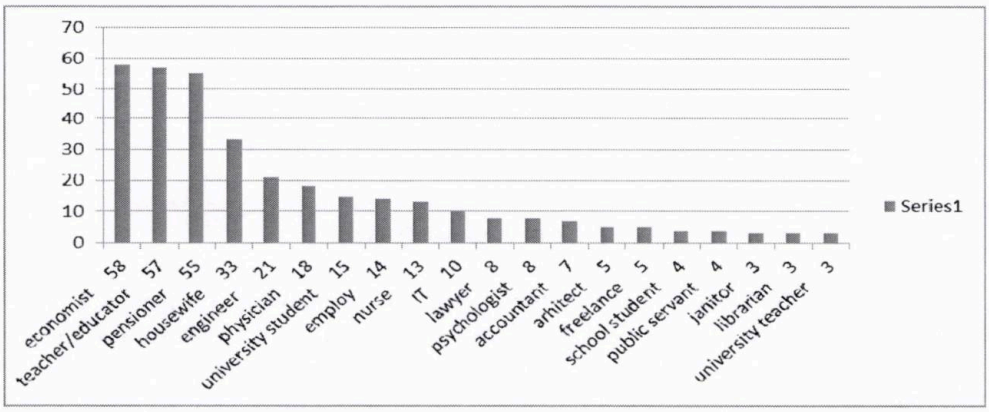

Fig. 4 – Distribution of occupations.

Nowadays-stitched shirts and old ones are associated with rather modern dresses as expressions of integration into the specifics of contemporary mentalities; almost half of the answers indicate this fact (40%), the same respondents finding a suitable opportunity to display such clothing in the context of the new feasts, dedicated to the Romanian traditional shirt (IIA) or the Romanian traditional costume. Percentages below 10 represents marketing-related destinations, exhibition or other purposes. There

is a fraction of the interviewees who consider that many of the pieces sewn now fall under the limit of kitsch because of the used materials or the intrinsic intentionality – the imitation of some well-known forms by improper ways or for improper intent is a definition for it. However, viewed as a whole, this phenomenon is, from the perspective of the studied group, one with positive effects (80%). Most of the sewers, also own at least one of old traditional costume component, that is either bought over the net - more them three quarters - either inherited from the family, bought in fairs, or even from the villages. In this way, many people believe that cultural heritage is saved from the imminent collapse (59%) and only a quarter fear the cultural impoverishment of the communities from which the patrimony objects are extracted. Another relevant aspect of the discussed phenomenon is the belonging to the rural or urban environment: there is a greater concern for this activity in the city (78%), sometimes sewers belonging to families in with at least one parent originate from the urban environment (38%), and some of them even have at least one of the grandparents of the same origin (14%).The data on the environment in which the respondents grew up shows that interest in making this type of artefacts does not fall into a line of continuity of community or family tradition. However, this craftsmanship remains the appanage of the ladies, with almost 96%. The idea of cultural identity does not have an immediate nature, but it can be highlited by the cross-sectional analysis of the answers to more questions, such as the debut year, the destination of the object and the emotional burden associated with it as an iconic element for the national culture.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that there is a need for identity anchoring in the traditions cultural project, which, although belonging to the ancestors, is invested with new meanings in order to be impropriated, in the context in which the current major directions offer globalizing ideas and even denigration of autochthonous values. Traditional culture is seen as a nation's foundation of non-formulable and non-transmissible character outside of the nation, made up of substantial elements. Exemplary mobilization and developments, observable in sewing bees (as defined by Oxford Dictionay, *seweing bee* = "a meeting for communal work or amusement) and related groups allow us to say that we are witness to an organic process, facing permanent transformation, where the actors are part of large groups of people characterized by specific interactions and constraints that modulate individual actions, thus defining a sociological phenomenon with their own laws. The virtual environment becomes an ethnographic space in which social position and component suffer a fundamental transformation in contrast to a classic ethnographic space, through the blurring of social relations from the real world; the cohesion criteria revolve around the common interest for the subjects being approached, having an eye of the mind centered on the idea that our preferences regarding the use of the Internet are the subject of databases. Within the virtual groups, differentiations appear through new social mechanisms in which cultural ideas and products are debated in correlation with self-

imposed limitations of the group[14]. The sewing bees phenomenon, which is currently experiencing an impressive development, has gained a place of self-standing in the contemporary ethnographic landscape. Sewing according to old models is burdened by some with the goal of cultural revival and others refer to this phenomenon rather as a historical reenactment movement. The difference between these two is given by the intention to keep alive in an uncertain formula, a certain tradition in the profoundly modified context of modernity and, respectively, to stage a reality of the past. So, what this phenomenon is about is the personal choices of those inside the phenomenon. The same perspective can be projected on other forms of cultural and artistic expression, such as traditional dance ensembles, folklore groups of contemporary rural communities, NGOs or private initiatives from the virtual environment.

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Komatsu Kazuhiko (trans. Hiroko Yoda and Matt Alt), *An Introduction to Yōkai Culture: Monsters, Ghosts, and Outsiders in Japanese History*, Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2017, 195 pages, ISBN 978-4-916055-80-4

In 2012 the Japanese readership welcomed the release of *Yōkai – Nihon Bunka Nyūmon*, a revised edition, previously published in 2006 by Serica Shobo. Nowadays, the international readers are equally delighted to be able to read the same book, *An Introduction to Yōkai Culture: Monsters, Ghosts, and Outsiders in Japanese History*, in English language. With elegant layout, stylish fonts, complemented by highly interesting illustrations, the book makes a substantial contribution to the field of Japanese Studies by trying to rehabilitate a frequently overlooked area in the cultural history of Japan in terms of up-to-date research: the *yōkai* – an ambiguous word among both academics and lay-people which means creature, presences or phenomena that could be described as mysterious or eerie. In a long, unbroken tradition of books mentioning supernatural encounters, starting with the 8th century *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and ending with the modern electronic publication, the *yōkai* appear in a variety of contexts such as the colourful range of monsters portrayed in the painted scrolls of the Muromachi period (1336-1573), the *yōkai*-themed prints adorning the pages of encyclopaedias of the Edo period (1603-1868), the animism underlying the Japanese beliefs, and the gradual transition from frightening presences to cute creatures for consumption and entertainment. Today they are already integrated in a continuum of scientific and artistic areas: history, literature, painting, sculpture, performance, comics, animation, games, films, even food.

The structure of the book is somehow asymmetrical, as it is organised into two unequal parts. The shortest one, comprising solely two chapters, is entitled "An Invitation to Yōkai Culture" and provides a powerful demonstration of the complexity of *yōkai* culture, in general. The first chapter poses an intriguing question "What is *Yōkai* Culture?" whose answer is explored extensively, offering useful insights into the classification of *yōkai* – catalogued as *yōkai* as supernatural phenomena, *yōkai* as weird entities (animals or anthropomorphic presences which exhibit a full range of human emotions) and *yōkai* as depictions (the visual representations of the *yōkai*-phenomena and the *yōkai*-entities). In addition, the chapter clarifies the terminology and introduces several well-known scholars of *yōkai* studies: the positivist Inoue Enryō, who actually coined the word *yōkai*, Yanagita Kunio, the founding father of Japanese folklore studies, who advocated

the necessity of surveying and recording the *yōkai* phenomena and entities and Miyata Noboru, who promoted the *yōkai* research in urban tradition in the late 80s.

The second chapter, "Yōkai Beyond Time and Borders", is rather theoretical and tries to contrast different types of knowledge – scientific, secular/instrumental knowledge and faith-based knowledge –, concluding that, from a modern standpoint, the sum of knowledge has always been a mixture of scientific knowledge (rooted in fact), customary/traditional knowledge and faith-based knowledge. The chapter also the touches on the investigative methods conveyed by the etic and emic approaches, emphasising that the latter is more suitable for the research in the humanities or social studies.

"On the Trail of Yōkai Studies", the second and the largest part of the book is, as a matter of fact, an anthology of introductory essays from the eight-volume *Kaii no minzokugaku* (The Folklore of the Strange), published from 2000-2001 by Kawade Shobo Shinsha, a series which collected and reintroduced hard-to-find materials on *yōkai* studies, featuring individual examples of *yōkai* typology.

Chapter three is devoted to *tsukimono*, the strange phenomenon of possession, which refers to a vaguely defined spiritual presence that causes some abnormal or undesirable situation. The scholars used three standards to define this phenomenon: *tsukimono* had to be malevolent; limited to the 'folkloric present' (reported by researchers during field work) and present in specific family lines.

Taking into account that the *yōkai* may appear at the periphery between known and unknown, the next chapter reintegrates the general remarks on *yōkai* terminology in the overall architecture of the book, reviewing the contributions of the most representative folklorists, especially Yanagita Kunio's interpretation according to which *yōkai* were fallen deities. Besides *yōkai* scholarship, the chapter exploits the revived interest in the visual manifestations of *yōkai* and provides useful references to fundamental books containing illustrations, such as Nara *ehon* (Nara artworks), *emaki* (painted scrolls) and *kibyōshi* (illustrated books of the middle to late Edo period).

The fifth chapter exemplifies one of the most well-known types of *yōkai*, *kappa* – imagined as child-sized humanoids, with shells on their back and dish-shaped indentations atop their heads, filled with water. *Kappa*'s wide spread throughout Japan is underscored by its onomastic variations: *mizuchi* (Aomori Prefecture), *gatarō* (Nara and Wakayama Prefecture), *hyōsube* (Miyazaki Prefecture), the numberless old and new books, documents and encyclopaedias dedicated to its existence as well as by the various interpretations surrounding its uncanny emergence: former water gods which became the evil spirits of mountains and rivers (Yanagita); presences connected to the rise and fall certain families, therefore viewed in terms of regional economics (Chiba) or dolls discarded in the river after being used for magical reasons (Kamino).

The sixth chapter is an attempt to reconstruct the timeline of *oni*, demon-like creatures with muscular bodies, human faces, vividly coloured skin, one or two

horns, a fanged mouth and a tiger-pelt loincloth who seem to appear in dark, remote places, away from the human world – which may be a negative reflection of what people think of humans who stand outside the human society. The symbolism of *oni* has traversed many interpretations, from *oni* as a label (applied to ethnic groups speaking other languages, particularly people divergent from the capital Kyoto), or *oni* as imaginary creatures, representing the darkness of human heart, to *oni* as legendary beings who were linked to a connection between the blacksmith groups (Tanigawa, Wakao) or to *oni* as part of the Namahage ceremony performed in Aomori Prefecture.

In the seventh chapter, the author extracts from a long historical tradition two types of *yōkai* associated with the mountains: *tengu* (a mythical *yōkai* endowed with superhuman powers, wings, red or bird-like faces and long noses) and *yamauba* (mountain hag). Some researchers asserted that *tengu* were monsters unique to Japan (Chigiri) and others paid a particular interest in the close relationship between *yamabushi* (Shugendō practitioners) and *tengu* (Yanagita). In fact, this religious load allowed a form of heresy (the *tengu* worship) to take root on Mt. Atago, in the northwest of Kyoto and then it extended to other mountainous regions. The female equivalent of *tengu, yamauba* is a tall creature with long hair, penetrating eyes and mouth slashing from ear to ear, but, despite her resemblance with *kijo* (*oni* woman), her features remain an ambiguous combination of a terrifying tendency to kidnap and eat humans and a benevolent desire to help people attain happiness or fortune.

The following chapter enquires into the meaning of *yūrei* (ghosts), human souls that remained in our world after death instead of departing for another. The interest in the distinction between *yōkai* and *yūrei* started with Yanagita, who proposed that *yōkai* appear in specific places, without choosing whom to haunt, while *yūrei* emerged with the aim of haunting specific people. The distinction was criticised by subsequent approaches, which focused on the situations when ghost manifested themselves (either because they wanted a proper send-off ritual, or because their deep attachment to this world prevented them to leave). Yasunaga Toshinobu's definition of *yūrei* is particularly noteworthy because he placed ghosts within a specific time frame as peripheral forms who tried to maintain their past existences while constantly attempting to insinuate themselves into the surface of the present (148). The chapter also lays emphasis on the visual representations of the ghosts, *yūrei* scholarship and the rise of interest in the *kaidan* (spooky stories) which incorporated most of the ghost stories.

The last two chapters are, in fact, interrelated because they refer to *ijin*, strangers, outsiders (the 9th chapter) and boundaries (the 10th chapter), to be more specific, the *ijin* exists only from the perspective of a specific community which established certain boundaries to differentiate itself from the non-familiar others. Groups create *ijin* in order to define themselves as peers and insiders. Placed in a relative and relational paradigm, *ijin* are generally imagined as one of the following

types: outsiders who visit a social group, stay temporary, but leave after completing a task (beggars, craftsmen, pilgrims); outsiders who settle down in the new location (refugees, merchants, religious figures); outsiders created within a community by discrimination (convinced criminals, the handicapped); outsiders who dwell far away and who are known only because of the community's connection to them through the power of imagination (exotic deities). Maybe the most famous example of *ijin* manifestation is Origuchi Shinobu's concept of *marebito*, viewed either as visiting deities from over the seas (which, over time devolved into *yōkai*) or as travelling performers bringing good look and prosperity. Apart from the favourable aspect of the outsider, *ijin* was connected to human sacrifices (*ikenie*). Outsiders were killed for local religious ceremonies or entombed beneath bridges or dikes as human foundations (*hito-bashira*). Unfortunately, folklore studies have not produced much research into the relationship between outsiders and community or individual families within those communities (163).

The last chapter presents several theories of liminality, with special reference to Yamaguchi Masao's research which divides culture using the centre-periphery dichotomy. Since order is said to reside in the centre and spontaneity or chaos in the periphery, boundaries are places where order meets disorder, or anti-order. Moreover, the periphery, where the accumulated values are expelled from the centre, has the power to invigorate the centre. In this rhetoric of liminality, one of the most significant boundaries lies between life and death, but there are other equally important boundaries – chronological, spatial, social and material –which are discussed at length by the author.

Generally speaking, the second part of the book (On the Trail of Yōkai Studies) seems to deal with exemplifications extracted from the *yōkai* typology: *yōkai*-phenomena (*tsukimono*, *yūrei*) or *yōkai*-entities (*oni*, *kappa*, *tengu*, *yamauba*), therefore I feel that the last chapter (Boundaries) might have fit better in the first part of the book (An Invitation to Yōkai Culture) as it provides an useful theoretical framework for the *yōkai* studies – if we consider boundaries as places where strange phenomena tend to occur.

Page by page, the reader of the book has the opportunity to learn about an abundance of creatures belonging to the mysterious realm, to unpack the history of *yōkai* by making reference to a detailed list of bibliographical recommendations, which give both didactic gloss and an encyclopaedic perspective onto the text. Furthermore, the wide-ranging review of the illustrative material offers a tantalising glimpse of the complexities of Japanese visual world, revealing fascinating information to both the experienced researcher and the enthusiastic neophyte. A superlative piece of scholarship, the book is engaging to read due to its extensive, detailed and internally consistent folkloric material, while the author's erudite overview takes us on an unprecedented journey into the heart of the Japanese uncanny.

Raluca NICOLAE

Ion Taloș, *D'Italica à Sarmizegetusa. Réflexions sur la culture populaire romane* [Between Italy and Sarmizegetusa: Reflections on the Romanic Folk Culture], București, Editura Academiei Române, 2016, 420 p., ISBN 978-973-27-2703-4

Ion Taloș, a Romanian ethnologist, has become an outstanding figure in a wide-ranging study of folklore. He is the author of important publications, such as *Miorița* (The Little Ewe), *Meșterul Manole* (Manole, the Builder), *Gândirea magică religioasă la români* (Religion and Magic in Romanian Thought), *Balada Soarele și Luna* (Ballad of the Sun and the Moon), *Colinda leului* (The Lion's Carol), *Folclor spaniol sefard în România. File de istorie culturală* (Spanish-Sephardic Folklore in Romania: Pages of Cultural History). As a professor at the University of Köln, he had the best opportunity to fulfil his scientific interest and personal inclination for rigorous, large-scale studies. As this book's title suggests, he has covered a Latin cultural space that extends from the south-east to the western edges of Europe.

Ion Taloș uses a classic method, following two major lines: the history of folklore, and folk themes and motifs that are common to the whole of Europe. His historical details are drawn from a deep mine of knowledge which allows him to draw comparisons between several of the continent's different Latin countries. His comparative studies confirm Matteo Bartoli's theory of *lingusitica spaziale* (spatial linguistics). This theory states that lateral areas conserve older linguistic features more securely than central ones. Ion Taloș applies this idea to his studies of Romanic folklore. In his opinion, language is the first marker of someone's identity, and folklore, in its large meaning – the tradition in which we grow/develop – is the second. As the Romanian language has been used as an argument and a resource in studying Neo-Latin languages, the same is valid for the study of the Romanian folklore. The author applies Matteo Bartoli's theory and concludes that as Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese folklore lie at opposite extremes of Europe's Latin space, they have preserved elements that have disappeared from the central zones of France and Italy. As a result, Romanian folklore is an excellent resource for anyone wanting to understand Romance culture as a whole.

The professor analyses motifs that are present in medieval Romanian and Romanic folklore and literature. He compares motifs from Dante's *Divina Comedia* to others seen in the Romanian ballad, *The Sun and The Moon,* and those from *La Chanson de Roland* to others in *Miorița*. Although there is no genetic relationship between *Divina Comedia* and *The Sun and The Moon,* they have the same cultural/religious background and many common elements/motifs: the journey to the underworld, questions related to real life, the afterlife and others. The author identifies around 30 versions of these phenomena in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Norway. In *Miorița*, the author finds motifs that are also present in *La Chanson de Roland*. The allegory of death and the symbolic wedding of the dead can also be

found in the famous medieval French poem; the wedding of the dead has Romanic origins. Ion Taloş also considers that the Romanian ballad provides the key to an obscure passage in the *Song of Roland.*

La Noêl du Vaillant Garçon ("Colinda leului") represents another interesting theme. Ion Taloş identifies 434 Romanian variants, which he has classified into four types. His conclusions are fascinating. Romania's neighbours do not have this theme, but Spanish and French oral and written traditions do: see for example, *Lanzarote y el ciervo de pie blanco, Lay de Tyolet.* The author presents minute details related to the similarities and differences between *La Noêl du Vaillant Garçon* and the Spanish *Lanzarote y el ciervo de pie blanco.* Fierce animals (lion/bull) behave like human beings and in both poems, they are vanquished by a young man.

The Spanish *Lanzarote y el ciervo de pie blanco* also has elements in common with the French *Lay de Tyolet*, which is part of Arthurian literature. Ion Taloş finds hidden motifs behind the abundance of fairy-tale elements that justify a comparison with the Romanian carol. The roots of the three poems, *La Noêl du Vaillant Garçon, Lanzarote y el ciervo de pie blanc*o and *Lay de Tyolet* can be traced to a European cultural milieu that existed in the first centuries of the second millennium of the Christian era. The author concludes that "at the current stage of investigation, it would be difficult to conceive of a genetic relationship between the three works under consideration".

Ion Taloş analyses another Spanish poem, *La dama y el pastor* in comparison to *The Shepherd who lost his sheep* (*Păstorul care şi-a pierdut oile*) The first is known in over 200 variants, originating in the written and oral Spanish tradition. The message of the poem is that while he is taking care of the flock, a shepherd must live as chastely as his sheep. The same theme appears in Romanian legends. Animals' jealousy, their demand that the shepherd refrains from sexual relations are motifs which can be found in the oldest epics in the world, such as *The Song of Gilgamesh*, and the Egyptian fairy-tale of the two brothers which date back to the second millennium BCE.

The Emperor Trajan's Legend is another theme studied by Taloş. It appears in a good deal of medieval writing and art (carpets, paintings, etc.). In western legends, the Emperor has only one quality: his virtue (spirit of justice). Romanian folklore is only Neo-Latin culture that presents Trajan as a complex character, similar to an epopee.

We may draw several conclusions from the book: 1. Ion Taloş finds that Romanian folklore shares many motifs with medieval Latin literature and traditional rituals specific to the Romanic space. 2. Romanian folklore is more archaic and "can provide keys for understanding obscure motifs encountered in medieval European literature". 3. The author suggests that comparing Romanian folklore with French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese folkloric beliefs is as beneficial as studying the Romanian Language has been for Neo-Latin linguistics. 4. Ion Taloş's research has changed the direction of Romanian folk culture studies from the Balkans to the Latin world. Romanians are traditionally seen as *homo balcanicus*

rather than *homo latinus*. In Romania there is an Institute of South East European Studies, but not of Romanic Studies. 5. The book has eight chapters in French, two in Spanish, five in German and a conclusion in English, which facilitates the book's entry into the international literature.

Amalia PAVELESCU

Ion Taloș, *Folclor spaniol sefard în România. File de istorie culturală* [Sephardim Spanish Folklore in Romania: Pages of Cultural History], 2017, București, Editura Hasefer, 340 p., ISBN 978-973-630-377-7

Expert in the folklore of the Latin peoples, Ion Taloș has been interested in Sephardim folklore since 1996. The researcher found rich sources of information on Sephardim folklore in Morocco, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, but not in Romania. Only a few researchers have found material about Romania's Sephardim population. Cynthia Crews (1930), Marius Sala (1957-1966) both conducted serious studies of the Sephardim language that they came across in Bucharest. Later, Manuel Manrique de Lara and Evaristo Correa Calderón also researched the Sephardim language in some depth. But there have been no studies of its folklore.

Ion Talos's hypothesis is that the communities of Sephardim who lived in Romania must have had their own folklore, but he knew that proving it would be difficult. During the 20th century it was almost impossible to collect oral folklore from such a small population. Finding written documents presented the same problem. His comparative studies in the Sephardim's culture and history proved to be of great help. The author based his research on a 19th century bibliography: documents that he found in the libraries and archives of Jerusalem, Spain, Israel, USA, Romania, and those provided by a friendly academic network. His experience of field research in Morocco (1986), with colleagues from Germany and Greece, represents another brick in the foundations of this research.

The study serves as the first monograph of the Sephardim in Romania. Ion Taloș presents historical, cultural (musicological), economic, social, philological, sentimental, and diplomatic aspects of Sephardim society. His research synthesises and broadens our knowledge of Sephardim culture. Sephardim (also called *frînci*) refers to Jewish people who lived in Spain and Portugal for around 1000 years. In 1492, they had to leave the country if they refused to become Christians. They spread to the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Africa. Most of the Sephardim who moved to Europe came from Turkey, but some came from Jerusalem. In the 19th century (cf. Antonio M. Barrio, *apud* Ion Taloș), the Sephardim lived in Salonika (80,000), Belgrade (24.000), Cairo (10.000), and Bulgaria (50.000). In southern Romania, the first Sephardim arrived in the 16th century. They settled in the Danube region around Bucharest and Craiova. Later, they established small communities in

the Banat (Timişoara, Lugoj), Transylvania (Alba Iulia, Cluj) and Moldavia (Iaşi). Evaristo Correa Calderón considered that in the 20th century there were around 10,000 Sephardim in Bucharest, but another evaluation (carried out at Spain's request), raised the number to 30,000. The language they spoke preserved elements from 15th century Spain.

Romanian Jews were among the first to write about the Sephardim. For example, Jehuda Barasch, a doctor, published material from his travels to southern Romania (Călăraşi, Craiova, Bucharest) and Moldavia from 1840 to 1842. He described Sephardim traditions and behaviour. Häim Bejerano wrote remarkable studies of synagogue music, folk literature (1885) and proverbs. He revealed new material about romantic music from the Spanish Sephardim Spanish tradition. Häim Bejenaro spoke 15 languages and was a member of the Spanish Academy of Language. M. Gañi, Isac Cauly, León Algazi, Raoul Siniol, Ghizela Sulițeanu also published studies of Sephardim culture.

Ion Taloş has demonstrated that Romania had its own Sephardim folklore. In the book there are references related to folk poems, wedding customs, burial rituals, cooking, and family life. The author has focused on proverbs and nine specific ballads (romances). He has presented their variants, area of use, number, frequency, and influences. Cultural elements that disappeared from Spain were preserved in Romania. The author cites examples not only from Sephardic communities in Romania but also from much further away: Salonik, Belgrade, Sofia, Brazil, and the Canary Islands. The author offers the reader a large and synthetic image of the Sephardim and he pays equal attention to history, culture and folklore without separating them (reason why the book's subtitle, *Pages of Cultural History,* was necessary). It's also worth saying that Ion Taloş describes how Spanish diplomacy and politics focussed on Sephardim life and status. In the early 1930s, Spanish diplomats started visiting Balkan countries, including Romania, for economic reasons. But the Spanish Civil War put a stop to Spain's involvement in its Sephardic diaspora. The author also refers to the controversial issue of Sephardic Jews during the Second World War.

There are different points of views about Sephardim: those of the Sephardim themselves, of the ones who met them (researchers, diplomats, professors) and those taken from written documents. Objectivity appears to be the author's intention, but he shows understandable admiration for the Sephardim. They spoke and wrote in many languages, most studied medicine or law. Over a period of four centuries, they maintained their attachment to the Spanish language, traditions, and to Spain itself. They called themselves Spanish, spoke Spanish (also called Ladino). But they integrated into their new home countries remarkably well. Romanian personalities, such as Nicolae Iorga, Gala Galaction, Constantin Brăiloiu, Dimitrie Gusti and others supported Sephardim culture and people. Sephardim established their own association ("The Association Sociedad de Amigos de España") which counted Queen Marie as a member, and their own publication ("Revista Hispanica").

The author gives examples of the cultural relations between Romanians and Sephardim. Mauriciu Cohen Lânaru (1840-1928) cited Romanian writers, such as Bolintineanu and Vasile Alecsandri, in his vocal music, and he knew 50 Romanian melodies. In the Great Temple, the Sephardim sang a requiem for Horia, Cloşca and Crişan (Romanian martyrs). The Sephardim translated narratives from Romanian literature. Arié classifies Sephardim music quoting a theory that belongs to Lucian Blaga (a Romanian philosopher). In school, classes were both in Romanian and Spanish: Spanish was used for teaching the Catechism, the Bible, religion, and Romanian for everything else. Jewish people who left Romania continue to speak Romanian and created a song for the country they left (*Romania, Romania*).

Ion Taloş writes clearly, with many references and examples from Sephardim history, culture and stories. There are engaging examples from the research process itself, showing how interviewees can interfere with the interviewer's intentions. This book is not only for researchers. Everyone who has an interest in European culture, its history, and present political life would appreciate it. Ion Taloş writes with style, courage and generosity and his insights into very challenging subjects: migration, the problems of being a refugee and making a home in a new country, resonate strongly today. His book opens the way for further studies and stimulates political and cultural reflections. Reading it prompted me to think about the Saxons' attachment to Romania after they left the country.

Ion Taloş states that his study forms the groundwork for future studies. He expresses his hope that other researchers will discover other material, extend and deepen our knowledge about the Sephardim. The book is a model for the study of the history and anthropology of culture. A variety of reflections and studies of collateral themes (identity, ethnicity, patriotism, intercultural relations) are possible after reading the book. If the study were to be translated into English, the opportunity for future research could grow and different perspectives of Sephardic identity and migration might appear.

Amalia PAVELESCU

Cepraga, Dan Octavian, Dinu, Rudolf and Firţa, Aurora (coord.), ***Memorialistica e letteratura della Grande Guerra. Parallelismi e dissonanze.*** **Atti del Convegno di studi italo-romeno, Padova-Venezia, 8-9 ottombre 2015 [Memories and Literature of the Great War. Parallelisms and Dissonances. Papers of the Conference of Italian-Romanian Studies, Padua-Venice, 8-9 October, 2015], „Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia" XI/2016, Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucureşti, 2016, 209 p., ISSN 1583-9397**

A century after the First World War, the issue 11/ 2016 of the review „Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia" (Notebooks of the Romanian House of

Venice) brings together 15 papers authored by scholars in the field of Humanities who revisit the topic of the Great War from a Romanian angle, trying to understand better not only "Romania's role in the First World War" (as reads the title of the first paper proposed by Keith Hitchins) but also the characteristic aspects of war experience that can be inferred from available memories, letters and literature.

As Keith Hitchins says ("Romania's role in the First World War", p. 7-18), a "broad historical perspective" enhances our knowledge of past events especially because it helps us place them in a larger picture and to avoid political bias or parochial cultural stereotypes. In that respect, several papers focus upon the historical task of reassessing the major effects which the occurrence and consequences of the Great War have had upon the participating states and populations. While the Sarajevo assassination was the pretext for declaring war, the underlying cause of the crisis in 1914 which lead ultimately to the outburst of the First World War was "the competition between the empires, which were multiethnic and held together by dynastic allegiances and political and social principles of earlier times, and the nation-states, which were based upon a single ethnic community and were pursuing self-fulfillment under the guise of national and liberal aspirations and thus could not help challenging the old order" (Hitchins, p. 7).

The Romanian state-maintained neutrality in the period 1914-1916 and joined the Triple Alliance on August 17, 1916, after gruelling internal political negotiations opposing the Francophiles to the Germanophiles. On the contrary, Romanians in Transylvania, a province which was part of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, had to fight alongside the Central Powers from the beginning of the war. In 1916, they had to face a dramatic choice: to desert from the imperial army or to fight against their own people, the Romanians engaged in battle on the side of the Triple Alliance who had crossed the Carpathians with the mission of conquering Transylvania and restoring it to the homeland. The referential example of this dramatic choice appears in the interwar novel *Pădurea spânzuraților* (The Forest of the Hanged Men) by Liviu Rebreanu: the protagonist of the novel (inspired by Rebreanu's own brother) is a Transylvanian soldier in the Austrian-Hungarian army who cannot fight against Romanians and is executed as a deserter.

Besides the campaign in Transylvania, the Romanian army had to defend the southern frontline, fighting against Bulgarians and Turks who were allies of the Central Powers. The Romanians were defeated both on the northern and southern fronts and the German forces conquered Bucharest in December, 1916. King Ferdinand and Queen Mary, the Romanian government, the army and a part of the population in Wallachia sought refuge in Moldova. Famine and disease determined by poor life conditions added to the military losses.

In the summer of 1917, the Romanian army stopped the German offensive in the south of Moldova and although they were short of munitions and provisions, the soldiers stood their ground on the frontline at communalities Mărăşti, Mărăşeşti and Oituz. The words expressing their resistence were "Pe aici nu se trece"

(No tresspassing) and became part of the Romanian legend of the First World War. Nevertheless, in the context of the Russian Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the situation of Romania became very difficult but the victory of the Antante in 1918 made possible the fulfillment of the Romanian aspirations to unity. Thus, Bessarabia, Bukowina, Transylvania and Cadrilater (part of Dobrudja) became parts of 'the Great Romania'. Considering that Romania reaffirmed her ties to "Europe" a century ago, Keith Hitchins concludes that "As we look back over the time of war, the choice of allies Romania made, the emergence of the Romanian nation-state at the expense of empires, and the coming together of the Romanians in a Greater Romania were in harmony with the course of Romania's history in the century before the war" (p.18).

While historians such as Hitchins reset the pieces of the broad context in an attempt to understand the subtle connections of facts that explain the war and its political, economical and social consequences, anthropologist Lorenzo Renzi takes interest in the "rabbit's eye" perspective, exploring "Letters of soldiers fighting in the Great War in France, Italy and Romania" (p. 19-37). He notices that the war produced the occasion for a "really flourishing epistolary activity" (p.20) involving not only combatants but also their families and friends and compares the displacement caused by war with the massive emigration of Europeans to America at the turn of the twentieth century. A special case of letters are the letters in verse form of Romanian soldiers in the Austrian-Hungarian army. As Renzi suggests (p.22), a compared research of private letters, postcards, memories, diaries, notebooks, drawings and photographs belonging to soldiers in different countries engaged in the First World War would bring into light similitudes and variations which could provide an anthropological outline of war experience in relation to ethnic experience. At the same time, a 'down-top' reconsideration of war would help reviewing the instrumentalization of the "myth of the Great War" by European nationalist ideologies in the twentieth century.

Oral and written accounts documenting the war experienced by Transylvanian soldiers are also considered by Nicolae Constantinescu: "What about common people, first line combatants, soldiers who left behind their land, their house, their plough? How did they feel the war, how did they see it and how did they transmit their experience to their dear ones at home or to other potential readers or listeners?" ("The Romanians from Transylvania in the Great War: oral and written documents", p. 49-58). Among other materials, Constantinescu analyses the rhyming war chronicles of Vasile Tomuț and Paul Alexa edited by Constantin Brăiloiu and respectively, Claude Karnoouh with help of Mihai Pop, which offer two models of ethnological restitution of peasant manuscripts. Approaching the same topic in a different manner, Laura Jiga Iliescu studies letters of soldiers preserved in the archive of The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" of the Romanian Academy as documents in-between orality and literacy and proves that the context of war has produced a shift in folk mentality towards alphabetization. In his turn, Dan Octavian Cepraga looks into rich collections of war letters edited

by philologists who worked as military censors and suggests that the letters in verse form of Transylvanian peasant soldiers offer a communicative model borrowed from the oral culture and serving to alleviate the trauma of separation from home and family which combatants experienced.

In his paper entitled "From memorial writing to public monument: the First World War in Romanian perspective" (p. 39-48), Andi Mihalache cleverly combines the historic and anthropological methods to analyse the perception of the human body as a way of coping with the mass carnage brought about by the Great War. He demonstrates that the memorial texts refer to individual suffering and misery, while public monuments exhibit heroic sacrifice for the homeland, even stimulating a new sensibility towards funerals (p. 41). "The hero may remain anonymous on condition his tomb is transformed into a monument" (p. 42, footnote 9) and war casualties become object of a national cult of the dead.

The fact that the Great War has brought about a definitive mutation of mentality regarding death is the central idea in the paper signed by Toader Nicoară (People and death in the Great War. Attitudes and Behaviour, p. 59-70). The author considers five aspects conducing to the new attitudes and behaviour towards death: hero-worship of the dead in the first stage of war; absence of connecting death to hero-worship during the active development of war; the problem of corpses; the memory of the dead and the new hero-worship; the problem of the new forms of violence generated *in nuce* during the war and transformed into political violence after the war.

Reviewing recent research trends of the issue of the First World War, Gheorghe Negustor notices the shift of historical studies towards historical anthropology and then towards cultural studies. In that respect, he indicates fiction as a most reliable resource for the latest historical approaches of the Great War.

Several authors included in the volume (Mihai Teodor Nicoară, Doina Derer, Oana Boşca-Mălin, Alexandra Vrânceanu, Constantin Ardeleanu, Emilia David, Aurora Firţa), demonstrate that not only fiction but also memorialistic and epistolary literature and even hybrid genres (such as *Le ore romene* by Guelfo Civinini, a mixture of artistic and journalistic writing including references to the neutral Bucharest in 1915) can provide material to refine our knowledge of the Great War. Ethnicity, politics, morality, gender roles and even aesthetics are invested with new meaning in the frame of war. "I have decided: I will not fight against Romania, irrespective of the consequences!" writes Romanian eminent philologist and captain in the Austrian-Hungarian army Sextil Puşcariu in his memories (M. T. Nicoară, p. 93); the young Italian writer Ardengo Soffici champions the patriotic war of the superior heirs of the Roman glory (O. Boşca-Mălin, p. 115-123); Laura, the protagonist of the novel *Balaurul* (The Dragon) by Romanian writer Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, de-constructs the gender role of nurse or protective mother assigned to women during war in her epoque (A. Vrânceanu, p. 125-139); the avant-garde writers include war images and vocabulary in their anti-art aesthetics (E. David, p.155-178) and so on.

Generally, the content of the volume proves that interdisciplinarity is fruitful in the field of Humanities: each paper sets the same topic in a different light, discovering new documents or proposing fresh interpretations of well-known materials and testing hypotheses that would enhance knowledge of the First World War as part of our problematic European heritage.

Ioana FRUNTELATĂ

Jiga Iliescu, Laura, Nubert Chețan, Mihaela (coord.), *Deschideri etnologice: In honorem Sabina Ispas la 75 de ani* [Ethnological Openings: In honorem Sabina Ispas on her 75th Anniversary], București, Editura Etnologică, 2016, 218 p, ISBN 978-606-8830-13-1

Since its foundation in 1866, the Romanian Academy has constantly supported the research of folk life as an essential part of the national cultural heritage, by initiating important projects, such as scientific editing of folklore collections, outlining research instruments (folkloric and ethnographic atlases, bibliography, zonal monographs, national encyclopaedia), and setting up folklore archives. The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" with the Romanian Academy (a Bucharest research institute which was set up in 1949 as "The Folklore Institute" to safeguard the Archive of the Ministry of Arts and the Folkore Archive of the Society of Romanian Composers) has been pursuing major academic projects in the field of folklore and ethnography irrespective of changing political circumstances and economical constraints. As director of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" (IEF) since 1997, academician Sabina Ispas has encouraged her interdisciplinary team of researchers to preserve and enrich the multimedia Archive of Folklore, to complete specific research instruments and to elaborate projects in a framework of the academic principles regarding nation building disciplines such as folkloristics and ethnography.

A most accomplished researcher herself, Sabina Ispas has contributed to the (Romanian) National Collection of Folklore by publishing – in collaboration with Doina Truță – four volumes dedicated to the typology of love folk lyrics (*Lirica de dragoste. Index motivic şi tipologic*, 1985-1989). Also, she is author of several books (among which *Cultură orală şi informaţie transculturală* – Oral culture and transcultural information, 2003 – and *Rosturi şi moravuri de odinioară* – Ways and morals of yore, 2012), anthologies and studies proposing an innovative approach of folklore genres (especially folk epic songs, fairy tales, legends and folk ritual Christmas songs – *colinde*) by interpreting folklore in its intercultural context comprised of ecclesiastical, medieval, scholarly and mass media influences. Moreover, Sabina Ispas and Nicoleta Coatu are editors and co-authors of the treaty of Romanian Ethnology (*Etnologie românească*, 5 volumes published so far

between 2006 and 2014). The volume *Deschideri etnologice: In honorem Sabina Ispas la 75 de ani* which disciples and collaborators dedicate to academician Sabina Ispas on her 75th anniversary includes a Foreword, an Introduction, twenty papers and a selective bio-bibliography.

In the Foreword, the coordinators of the volume, literary folklorist Laura Jiga Iliescu and ethnomusicologist Mihaela Nubert Cheţan (both IEF senior researchers) explain their intention of 'opening' the book to a dialogue of ideas that address – more or less directly – topics of interest for Sabina Ispas. University professor Nicolae Panea speaks, in the introductory study which he metaphorically entitles "The Orchards of thought", of the role played by Sabina Ispas on the Romanian academic arena as promoter of militant folklore studies in an intellectual climate marked by partial rejection of folkloristics because it was subjected to political censorship and political instrumentalization during the communist regime. Also, the author explains that emerging disciplines in the Romanian academic milieu (such as ethnology or cultural anthropology) have claimed the territory of folkloristics after 1989, challenging conceptual and methodological bases which most folklore scholars 'of the old school' had taken for granted. In Panea's opinion, continuity is the main argument of militant folklore studies and in her position as IEF director and member of the Romanian Academy, Sabina Ispas has supported successfully the continuation of the great academic projects envisaging folklore studies in a larger ethnological frame. At the same time, as president of the Romanian Commission for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2007-2010, 2014 - present), she has coordinated the first volume of the national repertory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and contributed substantially to the submitting of 4 national and 3 multinational candidature files for the inscription of 7 elements on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO (https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&country[]=00182&multinational=3&display1=inscriptionID#tabs).

Each of the papers opens with a 'ceremonial' paragraph in which authors declare their intellectual debt to Sabina Ispas in a subjective manner. The final bio-bibliography by Rodica Raliade (who is also author of one paper in the volume) provides objective data to outline a portrait of the IEF director as researcher, project coordinator, professor and symbolic protector of younger scholars. Thus, the volume brings together various topics and approaches: the history of ethnology and folklore studies in Romania, folklore archives and methodology of research, the intertwining of folk, ecclesiastic, academic, media and IT cultures, reports of rural and urban recent field researches, identity, memory, regional (pastoral, Carpathian, Balkan, south-Danubian) culture and the safeguarding of folk heritage.

Rodica Raliade ("Vademecum al începuturilor etnologice româneşti"/ *Vade mecum* of Romanian ethnological beginnings, pp. 12-22) argues that the works of the founding fathers of the discipline, such as Al.I. Odobescu or B.P. Hasdeu, provide models for syntheses which could help scholars in the twenty first century

to fix the "nodal intersections" of pluralistic approaches in contemporary Humanities and social sciences. The same orientation towards restitution and further exploration of documents in the IEF folklore archive or concerning important scholars in the history of Romanian ethnology appears in the papers signed by Marian Lupaşcu ("Ilarion Cocişiu promotor al unei abordări teoretice novatoare în ritmica muzicală"/ Ilarion Cocişiu, a promoter of an innovative theoretical approach of the folk musical rhythm, pp. 23-27), Carmen Banța ("Ovidiu Bîrlea în corespondența primită de la Petru Caraman şi Nicolae Bot"/ Letters sent to Ovidiu Bîrlea by Petru Caraman and Nicolae Bot, pp. 28-38), Mariana Ciuciu ("Chestionarul arheologic al lui Alexandru I. Odobescu. Aspecte inedite"/ Unknown aspects of the archaeological questionnaire of Alexandru I. Odobescu, pp. 39-46), and Anca Stere Remeta ("Texte ascunse, texte regăsite în arhiva Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor"/ Hidden texts, retrieved texts from the archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, pp. 107-116).

Radu Toader ("Provocări ale zilelor noastre în cercetările etnologice"/ Challenges in ethnological researches of our days, pp. 63-68) initiates a theoretical debate about the digitization of archived folklore documents as part of a more general process of scientific culture facing the information technology. In his paper ("Aspecte ale cercetării etnomuzicologice reflectate în creația muzicală proprie"/ Aspects of ethnomusicological research reflected in my own musical compositions, pp. 191-201), Nicolae Teodoreanu introduces the reader in the laboratory of an ethnomusicologist and composer (the author himself) who transforms every professional experience into an artistic experience.

Laura Jiga Iliescu ("Transmiterea cunoaşterii sacre şi documentul de folclor. Un studiu de caz în mediul pastoral carpatic"/ Transmission of sacred knowledge and folklore document. A case study in the Carpathian pastoral environment, pp. 91-106) suggests that the phrase "second life of folklore" proposed by Sabina Ispas to express manifestations of folklore outside their "original setting" could also apply to archived folklore documents, because "each folklore archive has its own meta-cultural, meta-historical and meta-traditional discourses" that enable explorations 'backward' (by comparison to other archived documents and historical data) and also 'forward' (by using 'new' field research experiences to understand 'old' archived information). A different approach of the pastoral research field is employed by Lucian David to outline an ethnographic typology of cattle breeding with reference to the Romanian 'cultural landscape' in *Rucăr-Bran* Carpathian area (pp. 151-158).

Mihaela Nubert Cheţan analyses the relationships between ethnic memory, local identity and patrimonialisation in the study "Memorie culturală istroromână. Pe urmele rugăciunii domneşti, de la Ion Maiorescu la CD" (Istroromanian cultural memory. The Lord's prayer from Ion Maiorescu's field research in the nineteenth century to a 2004 CD, pp. 127-134). The papers signed by Gheorghiță Ciocioi ("Cele dintâi prelucrări ale motivului jertfei zidirii în literatura bulgară"/ Early

occurrences of the 'construction sacrifice' motif in Bulgarian literature, pp. 57-62), Camelia Burghele ("Sacoşa cu identitate: 'satul nostru' din portbagajul maşinii"/ The identity bag: 'our village' from the car trunk, pp. 78-90), Ionică Pîrvu ("Cunoştinţele tradiţionale în contextul normării europene"/ Traditional knowledge in the context of european legislation, pp. 144-150), and Silvestru Petac ("*Morris dance.* Câteva aspecte introductive"/ Morris dance. A few introductory aspects", pp. 180-190) sample Romanian references to debate topics of regional and European ethnology.

Cornel Bălosu Ducan ("Ipostaze şi conjuncturi simbolice între bine şi rău în colinda românească"/ Hypostases and symbolic conjunctions of good and evil in Romanian ritual songs *colinde*, pp. 47-56) and Constantin Secară ("Colindatul tradiţional românesc. O reconstituire din Câmpia Bărăganului"/ Romanian traditional *colindat* ritual. A reconstruction of a variant from Bărăgan Plain, pp. 135-143) employ data recorded in recent field researches to interpret religious, literary, and musical aspects of the Romanian Christmas ritual of *colindat* (groups of men going from house to house in rural areas to herald Christmas by singing, dancing and performing various ritual practices according to local customs).

Laura Toader explores Romanian traditional food culture in order to understand the subtle connections between ritual patterns and daily life ("Viaţa ca dar. Despre ospitalitate"/ Life as a gift. On hospitality, pp. 159-172). A shift of ritual studies to the urban context is proposed by Florenţa Popescu-Simion who writes about "the dynamics of funeral rituals in towns from Muntenia region" ("Dinamica ritualurilor funerare în oraşe din Muntenia. O privire introductivă", pp. 69-77). Iulia Wisoşenschi ("Plecarea spre Iava. Domiciliul obligatoriu – izolare colectivă şi experimentarea noului fel de a fi"/ Departure to Java. Obligatory domicile – collective isolation and experiencing a new way of life, pp. 117-126) devises a method which combines narrative text analysis, identity studies and the anthropology of crisis to research the traumatic memories of the so-called 'political deportees' in the communist Romania of the 1950s.

Monica Bercovici-Ratoiu and Mihaela Hărmănescu raise the issue of patrimonialisation in their presentation of an exhibition displaying Romanian landmark crosses: "Cruce, semn, spaţiu: o abordare interdisciplinară. Expoziţia documentară 'Crucea element de amprentare a spaţiului locuit'"/ Cross, sign, space: an interdisciplinary approach. The documentary exhibition "Cross as imprint of habitation", pp. 173-179.

More than the brief comments upon the contents of the volume, the titles of the papers show that although they focus primarily upon Romanian traditional folk culture, the authors of the volume address the complexity of contemporary ethnology, aiming to comprehend different aspects of informal cultures in past and present and in intercultural contexts. Each author has a distinct style but all of them prove their fine academic training by flexible appropriation of the 'hard core' of national ethnology as a fit stem for grafting new epistemological branches.

Ioana FRUNTELATĂ

BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH": FACSIMILE PAPERS (PART IV)

Archives of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore:
FL 1913/44384, FL 1919/19, FL 1919/24/44555, FL 1919/28/44556, FL 1919/38, FL 1916/22/44482

REF/JEF (Bucharest) 1–2/2019: 183–241

THE EPIC LAWS OF FOLK NARRATIVE

(Brynjulf Alver, Norway)

In 1908 Axel Olrik wrote, "Those who devote their time to the folk narrative, can make a discovery hard to neglect: take a turn from the popular poetry of the people you belong to others, invented perhaps ages ago, under the influence of entirely different ideas and historical conditions and, for all that, it may happen that you suddenly recognize an element so much in common that you feel almost at home just as if you have never left your own circle of narratives."

I suppose that every folklorist has had this experience. Straight away we are able to distinguish between what is folklore and what is not in cultures far away. But it is one thing to be hazy about these things, another [redacted] to identify and isolate the forces which seem to operate behind tradition and to give them a concrete expression. This was what some Nordic folklorists attempted to do at about the turn of the century, and we will mention two of them by name: Moltke Moe and Axel Olrik.

Moltke Moe was the most outstanding folklorist in Norway at that time. In the course of the 1880's he established the concept of epic laws to denote the operative forces in the process of tradition. He identified several such forces which he found to be of an essential importance for the growth and transformation of the folk narrative. Moe found that some of these tend towards an evolution and extention of a theme, some of them tend to bring motives or types closer to one another or merge them into one another, and some of them lead to abbreviation or disintegration. He also called attention to historical and individual-psychological factors in these processes.

Moltke Moe's epic laws, or fundamental epic laws, as he even termed

them, were based on concepts of culture which seem antiquited today. Nevertheless his findings were of great importance, and his theories have been developed at an advanced stage by folklorists who might never have heard about Moltke Moe. Still they are not epic laws, rather priciples of oral transmission and principles of folkloristic process.

Some years later his close friend and colleague Axel Olrik, in Denmark, worked on corresponding problems. He borrowed the concept of epic laws from Moltke Moe, but used it differently: he applied it to the principles of formal rules common to all narrative tradition. He isolated 18 such laws which he named the single pattern of narrative, the few actors, the law of the scenic dialogue, the unity of action, the unity of person, the single narrative stream, the law of concentration, the twin law, the law of three, etc. This is what we connect with the concept of epic laws today, and what I am going to make a few comments upon.

In Europe great importance was attached to these laws, not only as rules governing the composition of folk narrative, but also as principles for the internal and external structure of narratives. There have been rather diffuse discussions as to whether we are dealing with real laws comparable to natural laws or whether these epic laws are only tendencies of variable validity. Folklorists have to some extent tried to test Olrik's finding on various materials, but the results have mainly been poor.

From Axel Olrik's point of view his theories were only hypothetical, nevertheless he was convinced that every tradition within the limits of epic folk narrative was subject to these laws. Their realm of validity would cover all genres known in Europe, and the overall evidence would support them. In fact Axel Olrik presumed that these laws made it irrelevant that folklore was communicated by human narrators, because the laws controlled the narrators.

Before I proceed I think it would be correct to point out the fact that the older generation of Nordic folklorists were not satisfied with only being scholars. They aspired to be poets too, as was e.g. the case with Moltke Moe and Axel Olrik. Both of them tried to give their assertions an artistic style, and sometimes their argumentation was not too objective. Especially it could be said about Moltke Moe that he had a particular tendency to give his arguments a form more or less like slogans. Consequently it would be illogical to take their statements too literally.

According to Axel Olrik's epic laws we must keep this in mind, but furthermore we must realize that he himself had never considered the full consequence of his assertions in the way for which some folklorists later gave him credit. It is obvious that Olrik was inspired from more or less quasi-philosophical ideas in the Northern countries at that time concerning culture and tradition, ideas which can be traced back to Herbert Spencer's concept of the superorganic, printed as early as 1876. It seems very likely that Moltke Moe, whose ideas were akin to those in Spencer's The Principles of Sociology, was the one who chiefly inspired Olrik in that direction. In Moltke Moe's papers concerning the process of tradition we find such expressions as urges, forces, power, needs, and the like, and several times he emphasized that he assumed that these urges or forces had the character of a system arranged according to universal rules. He based his claims mainly on the study of single phenomena, and he never tried to connect his findings into a testable theory.

That was really all Axel Olrik actually tried to do within a limited area of folklore, but his epic laws were meant to be principles common to all narrative tradition, therefore they should be tested on materials from different parts of the world.

On the other hand, he neither had a ready-built theory of culture as a starting-point, nor could he dream of any connection between

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these composition rules and the understanding of culture as a whole. In fact, it may well be that Olrik would have had difficulties in finding any correlation between an abstract theory of culture and the way of answering such questions as why the youngest brother is always the lucky one in folktales from different parts of the world, why the creation of the world appears in three phases in myths collected among various peoples situated so differently, and the like.

Some anthropologists have asserted that the theory of epic laws represents the most outstanding folkloristic argumentation in favour of culture as an superorganism. This is an exaggeration. Certainly there may exist some universally valid rules concerning diacronic or syncronic relationships of folkloristical as well as of cultural phenomena, and personally I would be able to except that culture constitutes a separate "level" or "aspect" of phenomena, even that culture constitutes the topmost phenomenal level yet recognized, as some anthropologists have expressed it. But this by no means implies that culture is an emergent, which moves through autonomous immanent forces. On the other hand, folklore is only one facet of culture, and the narrative is only one branch of folklore. Even if Olrik's laws really were invariables and acceptable as laws of general validity, the validity would be confined only to the narratives. Law is such an ambiguous word that we must either abandon the term altogether, or we must impose some absolute conditions on its use. In this particular case we are dealing with genres of folk narrative which are known more or less all over the world. If we want to formulate laws concerning this material we have to take Axel Olrik literally and make a claim of generality which passes all bounds set by genres and cultural areas. First of all we have to develop some kind of statistical methods which make it possible to prove the existence of such general tendencies. It would fall short of

our intention to dwell on occasional similarities which may only be sporadically observed in the material. The next step would be to isolate and identify some recognizable invariable units which could be found in different epic genres, furthermore we have to select a statistical average of the material being representative both of genres as well of different geographical areas of tradition, and finally we would need some controlable variables. Still such methods have not been elaborated, and I greatly doubt that the test will be forthcoming the foreseeable future.

In the present circumstances it would immediately be a mistake to accept Axel Olrik's epic laws as invariable in epic narratives. The relative validity of his laws depends on the principles of selecting the material and on his method of analysis. There is no reason to deny that his analyses were based on a casual and inadequate method or to hide the fact that he chose his examples partly from his own knowledge of tradition and partly from data collected by his closest colleagues. As so many of his generation, Axel Olrik regarded his working hypotheses as universally valid axioms, even though they were based on a material mainly taken from a more or less local tradition, and his isolating of phenomena was related to his subjective conception of folklore. What he really observed was some compositional tendencies in different genres of epic narrative tradition common within a limited geographical area.

This may in no sense be said in order to cast aspersions on Axel Olrik's essential observations, which have been an important contribution to the understanding of folklore. But as time passes we are able to look upon his findings with more criticism. The inconceivable quantity of folkloristic material collected in the more than 60 years since Olrik's paper on epic laws appeared has forced us to be more reserved towards speculative theories.

Certainly we believe that there really exist some objective gene-

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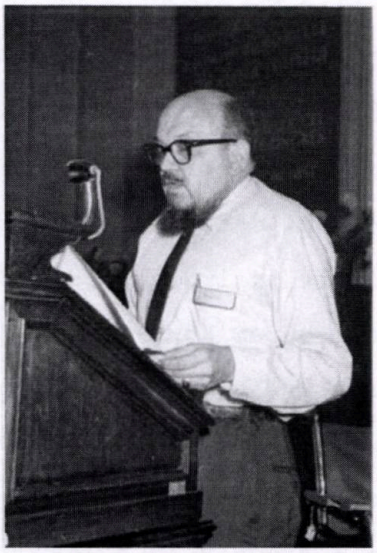
ralities in the compositional formation of folk narrative, and Axel Olriks axioms will be an inspiration for those searching for such laws in the future. This is, however, not an easy task. To seek for epic laws is one thing, to find them another.



Katharine Luomala and Daniel J. Crowley (AIEF: FL 1915/8/44402, FL 1913/26/44401, FL 1915/37/44536, FL 1916/34/44537)

Folk Narrative Laws Relating to *Dramatis Personae* in the Polynesian Maui Cycle

By Katharine Luomala
University of Hawaii

Based on analysis of the Polynesian Maui cycle this paper presents several tentative principles that appear to govern the *dramatis personae* with respect to sex, generation, and kinship. Additional factors are excluded to limit the length of this paper.

Not tested systematically on all versions of the Maui cycle, my generalizations, truisms as they may seem, remain to be verified. However, they suggest a means to subsume the typical Polynesian plethora of personal names in the cycle within manageable categories, and to begin to formulate folk narrative "laws" of Polynesian hero cycles. After the identification of these regularities and their variations, further research would be on their social and psychological correlates in Polynesian culture.

Largely excluded because of special problems are narratives about Maui from Melanesia, Micronesia, and those Polynesian islands with fragmentary collections. Generalizations are based mainly on variants from the major Polynesian archipelagoes of a series of loosely connected narratives focused on a leading character named Maui, who

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is usually a trickster and culture hero (Luomala 1949).

Obviously applicable is Axel Olrik's "greatest law of folk tradition," that of Konzentration um eine Hauptperson (1965:139). Also relevant with slight adjustment are Olrik's other twelve "epic laws." As four and its multiples are often the Polynesian ritual number, Olrik's Law of Three should, I recommend, be re-named the "Law of the Ritual Number" to render it readily applicable the world over. However, my purpose is not to test Olrik's laws on the Maui cycle but to enunciate new principles.

Although generation, sex, and kinship are perceptibly intertwined each factor will be treated separately. First are the principles relating to the generations to which the protagonists belong.

1. The Law of Youth. Of the different generations in the Maui cycle, the most important is that of the young adult, identified here as the Ego generation. Youth also characterizes Rata, Tawhaki, and other famous pan-Polynesian heroes of cycles (Luomala 1955), and the local heroes of most Hawaiian tales. These Hawaiian tales, novelettes rather than cycles, are mentioned because M. W. Beckwith's classic Hawaiian Mythology (1940) and S. H. Elbert's study (1956-1957) of the chief in Hawaiian mythology make them readily comparable with the hero cycles.

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Two corollaries to the Law of Youth concern Ego's displacement with increasing age.

a. Displacement of the Aging Hero. Ego is replaced as the principal protagonist when the first or second descending generation from him approaches adolescence.

In Polynesia a mythological hero dies or fades away when his characteristic deeds have been accomplished, or he gets lost or slain so that his son must rescue him or avenge him. Although the narrator remarks on the genealogical link, the aging hero usually does not interact significantly with any hero descended from him. This is the case even when particular emphasis on the kinship of Tawhaki, Rata, and certain other heroes leads some narrators to give what are separate cycles a tenuous unity.

b. Role Reversal. If the former Ego is present at all in a narrative centering on his descendant he behaves in conformity with the generation he now represents in relation to the new Ego.

This rare condition is evident in islands geographically marginal to the main area of the distribution of the Maui cycle. For example, in the Polynesian-influenced islands in the New Hebrides, Maui is a truculent grandfather competing with his impetuous grandson who bears a purely local name but acts like the mischievous Polynesian Maui.

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2. Law of Confrontation to Establish the Hero's Superiority. On this major law and the Law of Youth the cycle is built. Narratives constituting the cycle describe the youthful Ego's establishment of his superior powers, generally of a supernatural order, through his challenges to opponents of different generations.

Some subsidiary principles follow from the Law of Confrontation.

a. Early Resolution of Struggle within the Hero's Generation. Before Ego's attacks against the older generations begin he establishes his superiority over his consanguineal male kinsmen of his own generation--his brothers and their equivalents, his male cousins. Ego's assertion of his superior magical power, or status, over his affinal male kin is secondary and therefore less chronologically fixed. The variation in the intensity attributed to Ego's assertion of superiority within his own generation may distinguish different types of heroes. The assertion by Maui, a trickster-culture hero, is, with an occasional exception, relatively low-keyed compared to that by the noble chiefs, Tawhaki and Rata, against their brothers and cousins.

b. Predominance of Conflict between Generations. Ego and his generation struggle for power with the first, second, and other higher ascending generations including

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those vaguely identified as ancestors.

For example, Maui's most typical deeds are to wrest authority over fire, dry land, and sunshine from the older generations. Tawhaki and Rata also test themselves against threatening members of the older generations.

c. Ego's conflict with his elders concludes with his defeat of them. An obvious exception is Maui's failure to overcome the Goddess of Death.

d. When a narrative or the cycle as a whole has two or more ascending generations the second and other higher ascending generations is more hostile to Ego than the parental generation.

e. If, however, there is only one ascending generation, that of the first or parental, it is extremely hostile to Ego, more so than when the second and other higher generations are present.

For example, when, as in most of Polynesia, the Maui cycle includes not only Maui's father but his grandfathers and ancestors, his differences of opinion, if any, with his father are slight compared with the violence between him and the grandparental generations. His father tends to be a consultant or companion like a brother or cousin. When, as in Niue and Rennell Islands, no grandfathers function in the plot the hostility between Maui and his father is intense and violent. An adolescent hero's quest

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for self-identity usually involves his leaving kindly foster parents to locate one or both missing parents. The specific question "Who is my father?" addressed to a mother-figure is more often asked by Tawhaki and Rata than by Maui whose father generally has an active, complex role.

Statements about generational rivalry have anticipated major principles relating to sex and kinship.

3. Law of Rivalry between Members of the Same Sex. Ego as a male encounters greater hostility from the male sex than from the female. A corollary is that the struggle for power between Ego and other males varies in intensity according to generation and degree of kinship, as indicated previously.

4. Law of Support or Dependence between Members of the Opposite Sex. Conversely, Ego as a male either helps females or is helped by them but generation and kinship are important.

a. Females of the same generation as Ego or of the first ascending generation are usually immediately and particularly helpful to him or dependent on him. The first descending generation is unimportant. Generally Ego's sister or mother are his first major helpers and continue to assist him. He, in turn, may control their lives in a way he considers desirable for the nuclear family.

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Although Polynesians occasionally tell of cannibalistic mothers, they are unlikely to ascribe such a mother to a hero.

b. Females of the second ascending generation or higher, unless they are foster mothers, are usually hostile like their male counterparts; but unlike grandfathers and other male ancestors their initial hostility to the stranger disappears when they recognize his kinship to them.

For example the blind cannibal grandmother, whose food the hero steals to attract her attention, gives him useful advice about his next adventure when he establishes himself as a kinsman. He may restore her sight. When Maui attacked his ancestress, the Goddess of Death, she was asleep; consequently no verbal communication to inform her of kinship occurred, and she killed him.

Kinship has crosscut my exposition of laws relating to generation and sex. However, a fifth major principle is clear.

5. Law of Expectation of Support from Consanguineal Kin. Aid from his consanguineal kin, whether divine or human, and the amount of that support are products of any Polynesian's expectation. A hero as a very special Polynesian expects that if he wants it everything a divine or human kinsman has should be his because he is the most

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worthy relative. He may if necessary kill his resisting kinsman to prove his quality and take his rights. His contests are based on supernatural powers, with cleverness and physical force to add interest.

A hero's consanguineal kin respond to him according to their sex and generation. His mother and sister freely put their magic at his disposal; but his grandmothers may first have to be told his relationship. His brothers and male cousins, either as opponents or companions, may lose their lives through him. His father reluctantly supports the hero when older kin retain authority; but if the father controls power he may violently resist the hero's seizure of it. Ego's grandfathers, often ancient gods, dramatically force him to prove himself by wresting control over a natural element from them. The only affinal male kin in the Maui cycle, the hero's brother-in-law, is turned into a dog (if he is human to begin with) when Maui disapproves of his behavior.

Monsters of no known kinship and of timeless origin, whether theriomorphic or plant in form, are rendered harmless by a hero merely as incidental diversions.

In conclusion, three factors--generation, sex, and kinship--relating to <u>dramatis personae</u> have yielded five obvious ruling principles in the Maui cycle and may also apply to other Polynesian hero cycles. They are the Laws

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of Youth, of Confrontation to Establish the Hero's Superiority, of Rivalry between Members of the Same Sex, of Support or Dependence between Members of the Opposite Sex, and of Expectation of Support from Consanguineal Kin.

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DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS OF AFRICAN TALES

By Daniel J. Crowley, University of California, Davis, to be read at the V Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, Bucharest, Romania, Aug. 26-31, 1969.

In the introduction to his monumental compilation, A Motif-Index of Folk Literature, Stith Thompson states as his goal the bringing of order into the world of tales, and certainly no one has made a greater contribution than he, both in his own work and in that of his students. The project here described is an attempt to complete the classification of all available tale collections from Africa, the largest single area still incomplete in his worldwide sample. Although two or more archives of African tales have been created in Germany under the direction of Professors Ranke and Baumann, these are as yet unfamiliar to me, and hence not included in this project.

In a seminal survey paper in 1964 (JAF 77/303, Jan-Mar., pp. 12-31,) Bascom documented 93 ethnic groups for which 50 or more tales have been published, in 44 of which the texts were published both in the original African language and in translation in a European language. His bibliography contains 9,355 published texts by 138 collectors plus an estimated 2,000 more North African tales in the Massignon bibliography and 156 Moroccan Jewish tales by Larrea Palacin cited by him, a truly astonishing total since it excludes all but the largest collections. In a single country, the Congo (Kinshasa), at least 1,803 texts have been published in six African languages and/or four European languages (D. Crowley, "The Dilemma of Congolese Folklore," JFI IV/2/3, June-Dec., 1967, pp. 162-170), and in a single ethnic group, the Hausa, 1,207 texts have been

published, 731 of them regrettably in Hausa only, although a translation of these has recently been made by Neil Skinner. In a summary statement on the study of the humanities in Africa at the II International Congress of Africanists at Dakar, Senegal, in Dec., 1967, Alan Merriam pointed out the enormous collections of African arts of all kinds that now exist but which have never been classified, analyzed, or studied in any other way.

Suitable analysis of the immense treasury of African tales already published or in text is the primary responsibility of contemporary Africanist folklorists, if for no other reasons than that they alone with their crosscultural and cross[illegible] disciplinary training are qualified, and because they cannot go on to more crucial matters--i.e. contextual studies--until this backlog has been processed. The treasury is not quite so valuable as it might appear from a quick perusal of Bascom's paper, varying from verbatim texts with heavily annotated literal translations for linguistic purposes through translations of varying degrees of accuracy and felicity by scholars, missionaries, travelers, journalists, and the compilers of children's books, to mere summaries of tale content with no pretense at preserving [illegible] completeness or style. Every text, even a summary, is good for something, or such is the faith of a folklorist, but many of these texts are so fragmentary and stripped of their cultural contexts that they can only be (1) read for enjoyment, (2) analyzed in diffusion studies, or (3) used as collaborative data by an ethnographer seeking time depth or evidence of attitudes or values in a particular culture. It is the second of these alternatives, the creation of a valid Type-Index classifying all available published African tales to make possible comparative distribution studies that is the subject of this paper.

The study of diffusion has been the major concern of most European folklorists and Americans of the literary disciplines, but anthropologists have more often been interested in its theoretical implications rather than in the diffusion patterns of tales in particular areas. As a self-confessed Boasian particularist, I am long ago on record as lacking faith in the utility of the type and motif method, and I have no more faith now than at the beginning of this project that it will answer the questions that concern me most, but Africa was the largest and most important gap remaining in the world coverage by type and/or motif indexes, and no Finnish-diffusionist appeared ready to attempt the job. Until the classification of African tales is completed, we cannot test the value of the indexes beyond mere bibliographical tools. The distribution patterns of some tales and motifs will indicate the extent, if any, to which diffusionistic research can prove or disprove the multitudinous theories about the relationship between folklore and race, language, culture, and geography. It should be pointed out that anthropologists of the American school usually assume that all versions of a type have a single common origin, but that motifs may be invented any number of times, as demonstrated for instance in Luomala's study of the three separate origins of the sun-snarer motif. Obviously, types and motifs are not mutually exclusive, and it is also exceedingly difficult to differentiate between variants of a type and analogues having separate origins. While Cinderella could hardly be invented twice, any tale with a female underdog heroine, for instance, is bound to be somewhat analogous to it since one can assume that ultimate success for any woman is to marry money.

Although the Aarne-Thompson Type Index is limited to "Europe, West Asia, and the Lands Settled by These Peoples," type indexes now exist for most other major geographical areas.

In 1938, XXXX Klipple combed the African literature to find 300 putative African Folk-Tales with Foreign Analogues (doctoral dissertation, Indiana University) but was unable to specify the distinction between variants and analogues which is crucial to any distribution study. In 1958, Kenneth Clarke produced A Motif Index of the Folktales of Culture Area V, West Africa (doctoral dissertation, Indiana University) which is also of limited use if we assume that motifs may be repeatedly reinvented. Under the direction of Bascom and Dundes at the University of California, Berkeley, O.J.Arewa has completed A Classification of the Folktales of the Northern East African Cattle Area by Types (1966) and Winifred Lambrecht has completed A Tale Type Index for Central Africa (1967). Although both fragmentary and somewhat arbitrary, these two dissertations combine to form a baseline, a working bibliography, and something of a method and a set of pigeonholes with which to begin. For instance, Arewa found that he needed many more numbers for animal tales than was provided in Aarne-Thompson, and also added a new category of Tales of Origin derived largely from the Motif Index.

But in spite of their comprehensive titles, the studies of Arewa and Lambrecht process only 405 texts of 293 types and 355 texts of 336 types respectively, the first from 44 ethnic groups and the latter from a mere 14 plus 8 towns. One quarter of Arewa's texts are from two peoples, the Kamba and the "Swahili" (Zanzibaris? Wazaramo?), and an overwhelming 72% of Lambrecht's tales are from the Luba. Nearly all their tales are from English or French collections, and Arewa did not process all the tales in each collection he included. When combined together, these two studies produce an astonishingly miniscule result. 293 of the 405 texts found by Arewa and 309 of the 355 texts identified by Lambrecht had never been found anywhere previously. Only 40 of Arewa's

types occur among two or more of his ethnic groups, and only 8 of Lambrecht's among hers, although both have examples of several variants of a tale collected in a single tribe. Thus 602 of the combined total of 760 texts processed have never been identified before, and are thus "new" types of which we have only a single example. Hence they may well be individual creations of the narrators, and not folktales at all. Only 61 of Arewa's types are found in Aarne-Thompson, and 58 of Lambrecht's, suggesting that, at least in these areas of Africa, European tales are vastly in the minority. More devastating is the discovery that a mere 19 tale types are found both in East and in Central Africa and 15 of these are "international" tales found also in Aarne-Thompson. Thus a mere four types are provably African tale types unknown in Europe, one-half of 1% of the 760 tales processed in the two studies.

Although it is still too early to be certain, in my own project involving all remaining African texts, somewhat similar results seem indicated. We estimate that as many as 90% of the 12,000 texts being processed is each unique, reported only once, and hence not provably traditional at all, but attesting to the creative genius of the African narrators. Many well-known international animal and magic tales occur widely in Africa, and Biblical and "A Thousand and One Nights" tales are occasionally reported. There is a tendency for most types to cluster in one fairly limited area rather than being distributed broadly throughout the continent. Bushman tales seem quite distinct from those of the surrounding "Bantu," possibly because they are more often told in a mythic genre rather than as tales of entertainment. From my standpoint, what will be most valuable will be the discovery of tale types limited to Africa, or to Africa and the New World, or to Africa and Asia, to redress the inbalance caused

by the admitted European biad of most previous diffusion studies. We should find positive or negative documentation for many theories of migration and historical reconstruction, and will at long last be able to test such hypotheses as "culture flows down hill from higher to lower," "tale distribution correlates closely with language" (or with "race," geography, religion, ecology, kinship, or some other variable), or "regional variation is minimal in African folklore." For instance, are the 517 published Malgache tales mostly of local origin, or were they brought from the African mainland with the majority population, or introduced by the Indonesians along with their languages, or carried by the Arabs, Portuguese, or French who have held successive political dominance? Did Islam carry the treasury of Near East stories through the Sudan, and if so, how were they modified or adapted to local cultures? Was Parsons (Folk-Lore from the Cape Verde Islands, MAFS, XV, New York, 1923) correct in deciding that Cape Verde tales were overwhelmingly of Portuguese origin? What is the relationship between Maghrebi and subsaharan African tales? These and many other questions with implications far outside the dim purlieus of folklore research can be answered through this index, which will also make available for the first time, at least to English-speaking Africans, their great heritage of verbal art so long locked away in French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Afrikaans, and other sources, not to say in other African languages. Most of all, it may help attract young Africans to the study of their own traditions.

A second full-length project will be the tabular analysis of worldwide tale distribution as presented in the various type indexes now available, although most of these make no claim to completeness nor attempt to encorporate all available texts. The

Finnish Diffusionists, deeply humanistic and Platonic in outlook, were chary of having their various lifelong projects thus "added up," and in any case the African material had not been analyzed. It may be useful here to indicate a few preliminary findings from comparisons of already completed indexes. Although the Japanese are geographically, biologically, culturally, and linguistically quite distinct from the rest of Asia, Ikeda found they share 80% of their tales with the mainland. In contrast, the British and Anglo-Americans share language, basic institutions and culture, and many genes, and have a long history of frequent and extensive contact and communication "across the river" in both directions. Yet Baughman showed that they share a mere 25% of the total of 371 types found in the two countries. Since these comparisons strongly suggest that language does not correlate closely with tale transmission, it may be pertinent to note that in Hansen's compilation limited to New World tales told in the Spanish language (but excluding the collections from Panama to Southwestern United States soon to be indexed by Robe), the Chileans, perhaps the most "European" of all Latin Americans, prove to have derived only 46% of their tales from their Spanish motherland. Even more striking, white Argentina and black Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic have each preserved the same percentage of metropolitan Spanish tales, 33%, indicating aboriginal, African, other European, or post-Columbian local sources for the remaining majority of tales.

Of the 793 motifs Clarke documented as occuring more than once on the Guinea Coast, only 52 or roughly 6 1/2% are found in Flowers' Caribbean index based on the extensive collections of Parsons. Those 52 African motifs however make up 9% of all the 467 motifs identified by Flowers in the Caribbean. Similarly, of the 229 motifs told in English by American blacks studied

by Baughman, 58 or 25% are also told by American whites and 61 by Englishmen, the latter two who share only 25 of the same 58 motifs between them! Thus, British and American sources each provide about 25% of American black motifs, but because of overlap, the two together provide 94 distinct motifs, or 41% of the total motifs told by American blacks. Only one American black motif (B210.1, Person frightened by animal successively replying to his remarks) occurs also in Clarke's Guinea Coast study. Thus, with only 9% of Caribbean motifs traceable to Africa and only one preserved among American blacks, Dorson's estimate of 10% retention of African material by them appears high. However, motifs are notoriously untrustworthy, and a fairer count will be possible when we can compare whole tales. Using different criteria than mine, Klipple found some 300 putatively European tale types in Africa.

In conclusion, I must stress that this project is concerned exclusively with types, and not at all with motifs, which I leave to other scholars, particularly Africans, with more time on this earth than remains to me. It appears that we must learn a way of differentiating more clearly between motifs and types, so that stable, oft-reported motifs of incidents can be incorporated into the Type Index as having been invented only once. Or perhaps, as I suspect, we will discover that this innately imprecise method simply will not work adequately on a worldwide scale, and we will be forced to try Dundes' motifemic analysis or some application of Alan Lomax' cantometrics method which my erstwhile colleague Harold Driver tells me is a major statistical contribution in its own right, playing down similarities and stressing rare occurrences with startling effect. Or we may go to computers as the simplest way of handling the variants which concern us. With luck, we should one day be able to differentiate whatever folklore areas may exist across the face of the earth.

- 1 - Rosa del Conte

L'arche de Noé; de l'apocryphe au théâtre à travers le folklore

Les figures et les légendes d'ambiance vétérotestamentaires, qui sont entrées dans la littérature populaire roumaine, ont retenu l'attention de savants illustres (Hasdeu, Gaster, Cartojan), parmi lesquels quelques uns furent même les découvreurs et les premiers éditeurs de textes manuscrits. Toutefois, à notre connaissance, aucun d'eux n'a pris en considération, dans le cycle des récits d'inspiration biblique - un des thèmes les plus suggestifs et des plus universellement répandus: le Déluge et la construction de l'Arche par l'oeuvre du dixième descendant d'Adam, le patriarche Noé, élu par Dieu à devenir la souche d'une nouvelle humanité régénérée: quasi une seconde création.

Le silence de ces savants doit-il nous autoriser à croire que le thème n'est pas représenté dans l'aire roumaine? Nous commettrions une erreur: le thème existe, il est entré dans la circulation folklorique et d'une manière qui est spécialement caractéristique à l'aire que nous appelerons, conventionnellement, balkanique! Un motif de légitime stupeur est donc le fait de constater, que même DÄHNHARDT[2], en collationnant dans son Natursagen, les récits inspirés du Vieux Testament (Sagen zum Alten Testament), enregistre une documentation recueillie dans les aires Polonaise, Hagyare, Bulgare, Ukrainienne, Serbe et Ougro-Finnoise, mais a négligé juste l'aire roumaine, où le thème maintient dans son développement une absolue concordance de caractères avec les versions témoignées dans toutes ces autres aires, - s'enrichissant en plus, comme nous le verrons, d'un motif nouveau et hautement suggestif: la simandre.

Nous pouvons compléter notre information par un élément inédit ou du moins assez peu connu: cette interprétation "hétérodoxe" du thème biblique se relève dans des documents littéraires (les Mystères) et picturaux (le Psautier de la reine Mary) remontant au moins au XIV^{o} siècle en aire de culture anglaise, d'où elle s'est probablement propagée dans le siècle suivant dans la zone scandinave. Cela a échappé à des savants comme Mâle[3], Lindblom, Reau et c'est ainsi que les deux aires se sont réciproquement ignorées: en signalant ici le curieux parallélisme (d'autant plus curieux que le thème n'a - selon l'attestation de Mâle - aucun reflet dans l'iconographie française) nous renonçons pour le moment à l'expliquer,

c'est-à-dire à enquêter quel en a été l'intermédiaire.

Schématisons donc les moments et les situations à travers lesquels se développe le complexe épisode, dans des aires linguistiques si différentes:

- La décision divine de punir l'humanité par le déluge, et le dessein sauveur concernant Noé, qui accepte de construire l'Arche;
- la condition du secret imposé par Dieu à Noé;
- l'intervention insidieuse du diable décidé à empêcher la construction de l'Arche;
- la présence de la femme de Noé, comme instrument dans les mains du diable, qui s'en sert pour arracher à Noé son secret;
- la boisson (ou le filtre) comme instrument matériel de la séduction;
- la distruction de l'Arche comme châtiment, pour la violation du secret de la part de Noé;
- le remords de Noé et l'intervention réparatrice;
- la nouvelle ruse du diable qui réussit à se faire appeler dans l'Arche, et sa successive fuite.

C'est justement à l'aire roumaine qu'appartient le motif de la simandre, dont Noé se sert (suivant le conseil divin), soit pour recomposer les morceaux de l'Arche détruite, soit pour réunir et faire monter les diverses espèces animales dans l'Arche-même.

Tel qu'on le voit, nous sommes hors de la ligne schématique de la Genèse.

Il est fort naturel de penser qu'une communication d'une dizaine de minutes ne nous permettra pas de décomposer le récit, pour analyser [illegible] les impulsions hétérogènes qui ont provoqué le développement de chaque élément.

S'il est vrai qu'à propos du récit testamentaire l'on peut parler de substrat, c'est-à-dire d'une tradition littéraire qui s'est sédimentée au cours de plusieurs milliers d'années (c'est l'épopée de Gilgamesh qui s'offre comme point de départ pour les confrontations les plus éloignées, mais aussi les plus éclairantes, à condition que l'on tienne compte, évidemment, que ses éléments ont été élaborés de nouveau et [illegible] dans une synthèse complétement nouvelle, comme il en est justement du récit chrétien de la Genèse) - il n'en est pas moins vrai que cette nouvelle synthèse

a été à son tour continuellement modifiée et renouvelée, au point de submerger par ses nouvelles prolifications le noyau primitif qui n'est presque plus reconnaissable...

La constitution d'une nouvelle tradition est d'ailleurs témoignée d'autorité par l'existance d'une littérature apocryphe, à laquelle même les commentaires exégétiques offrent souvent un riche et pittoresque aliment. En ce qui concerne Noé, cette littérature apocryphe se polarise (mais ne s'épuise pas) autour de deux textes, dont par exemple ne tiennent compte ni DÄHNHARDT ni FRAZER: le Livre de Noé et le Livre de Noria.[5] Il s'agit d'oeuvres perdues, mais pas entièrement: le premier survit dans les ainsi nommés "fragmenta noachitica" surtout incorporés dans le Livre d'Enoch, dans le Livre des Jubilés et peut-être même dans les Livres Sybillins; du second livre nous n'avons comme information que la réfutation d'un hérésiarque, Epiphane.

En négligeant, pour le moment, de prendre en considération les "fragmenta noachitica", nous passons directement aux documents qui intéressent de plus près notre version de la légende de Noé.

Dans l'hérésie XXVI, Epiphane nous présente un Livre de Noria, qui serait largement employé dans l'ambiance gnostique des Borborites et des Nicolaïtes[6]. Dans ce livre, la femme de Noé, dont le nom de Noria donnera lieu à son tour à des interprétations exégétiques intéressantes, dans l'esprit des léxicographes, figure comme un élément de dissension aux côtés de Noé, qu'elle visite, pendant que celui-ci s'occupe des travaux de l'Arche, où Noria est destinée à ne pas être accueillie, puisque l'Archonte veut, par le déluge, la détruire elle aussi avec l'humanité toute entière. Par dépit, Noria aurait osé, non seulement s'introduire dans l'Arche, mais l'incendier deux ou trois fois, et cela en concordance avec sa nature intime, trahie et scellée par son nom: Nura = Pirra. Cela aide à expliquer comment la [illegible] du navire s'est prolongée durant tant d'années.

Un aspect du récit d'Epiphane doit surtout nous frapper: c'est celui de l'importance donnée à la figure de la femme de Noé, dont le récit canonique se limite à signaler la présence, étant donné qu'elle

est pour Noé ce que les respectives femmes sont pour ses fils: "Vase de sa semence", pour employer l'expression de Pierre Aretino.[7] Quant à ce qui concerne la caractérisation, elle reflète une longue tradition misogyne qui est surtout liée à l'ambiance monastique, mais elle peut aussi avoir, à mon avis, un point de départ dans l'identification: Noé, égale un deuxième Adam: Noria, une seconde Ève. Celle-ci est donc un élément d'opposition, cause non seulement de péché, mais aussi de ruine, incitée à cela par un esprit malin, l'adversaire du Bien, dont la femme devient l'instrument et la complice.

Ce caractère se conserve dans l'ambiance populaire et reste imprimé dans le contexte de type folklorique inspiré de Noé et du Déluge, qui s'est introduit, comme nous l'avons dit, dans des aires culturelles et linguistiques nettement distinctes: l'aire anglaise et par son intermédiaire scandinave, l'aire balkanique, par l'intermédiaire de l'aire bizantine-slave.

Le préliminaire commun aux deux rédactions, tant à celle appartenant à l'Europe Occidentale qu'à celle du Sud-Est, est le caractère secret de l'ordre donné à Noé pour la construction de l'Arche, et l'interdiction d'en faire part à sa famille.

Dans la rédaction anglaise, le diable est désorienté, car, étant donné que les coups de hache de Noé ne font pas de bruit, il lui est impossible de le surprendre, puisqu'il ne réussit pas à identifier où il se trouve. C'est alors qu'il s'adresse à la femme et lui donne des grains à mettre dans la boisson destinée à son mari. Les choses se déroulent selon le plan prévu par Satan, et Noé étourdi par le filtre, parle. Le jour après, retournant à son travail, le premier coup de hache résonne avec fracas dans toute la vallée. Un ange descend gronder Noé pour son manque de précaution, et l'Arche est terminée à l'aide de verges et de clayes.[8] Dans la version "balkanique", le diable surprend Noé au travail, mais il ne réussit pas à lui faire dire ce qu'il est en train de faire. Alors, le diable arrive à persuader la femme de se servir d'une boisson magique, pour le faire parler. Le jour d'après, Noé trouve l'arche démolie par le diable, et seulement ses larmes, qui se prolongent pendant quarante jours (comme la péniten-

ce d'Adam chassé du Paradis), lui obtiendront le pardon de Dieu, qui lui enverra un Ange pour le réconforter: cet Ange lui donnera le courage de reconstruire l'Arche.

Dans les deux rédactions, l'action du diable contrarie mais n'annule pas le dessein de Dieu. Ne pouvant empêcher le salut des élus, le diable veut au moins ne pas en être exclus, pour être prêt à agir sur le nouveau monde qui naîtra de leur oeuvre. En effet, soit dans l'aire anglaise soit que dans l'aire balkanique, l'opposition de la femme de Noé persiste, même après la construction de l'Arche, et se manifeste, toujours par suite du malin conseil, dans une attitude rebelle qui la rend méfiante, récalcitrante à entrer dans l'Arche. L'obstination avec laquelle la femme refuse d'obéir, toujours par instigation de l'Envieux, est résolue dans les mystères anglais sur un ton agréablement comique.

A ce point de vue, le Play de Newcastle est le plus réussi.[9] Le comique est encore plus justifié, car le refus de la femme d'entrer dans l'Arche, incitée par Satan, est utilisé par la ruse diabolique au profit de Satan-même, et au double échec de Noé. Il faut remarquer la variante où le diable conseille à la femme de ne pas entrer, jusqu'à ce que Noé ait prononcé son nom. En effet, tandis que l'eau monte menaçante, et devant le "non" de la femme entêtée, le pauvre Noé perd patience et l'incite à se dépêcher... au nom du diable: -"Diable, monte..." - Le diable ne se le fait pas dire deux fois, et Noé le trouve glissé entre ses pieds, tout heureux de pouvoir lui déclarer, comme juste réponse à ses protestations, qu'il est entré par son ordre, à la suite de son appel (comme on peut le lire dans certaines légendes arabes (Dähnhardt, I, ...p.226). Mais il suffira ensuite d'un Bénédicité, prononcé par Noé au retour de la colombe, pour mettre le diable en fuite.

Nous ne croyons pas devoir trop approfondir l'examen du thème de la boisson, qui a plusieurs noms et différentes origines, mais qui a néanmoins la fonction de ralentir le contrôle éthique de Noé, en déterminant en lui un état d'assoupissement et de relâchement. En ce point là, cet élément de par soi anachronique par rapport au récit scriptural - seulement après le déluge Noé plante la vigne - s'harmonise parfaitement au jugement de condamnation pro-

noncé par la mentalité monastique (et ensuite populaire) regardant le vin (la même chose adviendra pour le tabac) défini pour ses effets "la boisson du diable". Ici aussi l'on pourrait invoquer comme soutien une riche tradition textuelle.

Au centre de notre attention nous voudrions retenir ce fait: tous les éléments que nous avons individualisés, éléments que l'aire anglaise élabore en actions dramatiques de type populaire - représentations sacrées - particulièrement chères aux corporations des charpentiers et des constructeurs de navires, tandis que l'aire balkanique les élabore en contextes narratifs de genre folklorique, se trouvent réunis et organisés dans un texte inséré dans une rédaction slave du XVII-ème siècle des Révélations de Saint Méthode de Patara (ou d'Olympe - en Lycie: Asie-Mineure). Les problèmes soulevés par ce texte, dont nous donnerons autre part la traduction faite sur la rédaction publiée par FRANKO[10], ne sont ni peu nombreux ni de facile solution.

Le premier problème est celui de l'authenticité de ces Révélations, dont l'attribution à Méthode a été mise d'autorité en discussion; mais indépendamment de la réponse que l'on puisse donner à cette demande, l'aspect le plus déconcertant du problème est un autre: dans la particulière version qui nous intéresse, le passage du Déluge appartient-il originairement aux Révélations mêmes, ou représente-t-il une interpolation dont il faut, à travers l'identification, établir la provenance? La question est légitime. Elle est même inévitable si l'on tient compte de ces considérations:

- L'édition des oeuvres de Méthode donnée par Migne[11] ne contient pas les Révélations.
- Une rédaction en grec (langue originale des Révélations de Méthode) se trouve chez VASILJEV, mais le récit du Déluge ne correspond pas à la version que nous avons examinée.[12]
- En ce qui concerne l'aire russe, TIKONRAVOV[13] publie quatre variantes représentant des moments différents dans la transmission du texte: une de 1345, la plus près du texte grec; une du XV siècle; une du XV-XVI; et finalement une du XVIII, la troisième dans l'ordre d'édition,- la copie la plus

tardive. Eh bien, seulement dans cette rédaction, le récit du Déluge présente le développement des caractères que nous avons dénoncés.

Pour l'aire Ukrainienne, la tradition manuscrite a été recueillie par FRANKO, qui en a retrouvé une version dans le manuscrit miscellanées des écrits de Théodore de Dulivetz. Cette version se rapproche de la variante plus récente de Tikonravov, au point qu'elle est utilisée par Franko-même pour intégrer (juste au passage relatif à la femme de Noé, obstinée à ne pas entrer dans l'Arche) une petite lacune du texte ukrainien.

Istrin[14] qui a publié une ample étude (1897-1898) dédiée à l'examen de la vision (Révélations) de Méthode, collationnant des versions grecques, latines, slaves (et précisément: - trois versions grecques, pp.5-74; une version latine brève, pp.75-83; trois slaves pp.84-131); a une seule variante slave, avec l'épisode de Noé, dans la rédaction la plus longue. Cette rédaction est presque identique à la III-ème donnée par Tikonravov. Le texte d'Istrin représente toutefois une rédaction plus ancienne, car il considère le manuscrit comme étant du XVI-XVII-ème siècle, c'est-à-dire avec au moins un siècle avant.

Le passage ne se retrouve pas dans les traductions latines des Révélations que nous avons pu examiner. Citons pour toutes les autres, la traduction latine de Bâle en 1504 "De revelationes facta ab Angelo beato Methodio in carcere detento". L'on y soutient pourtant l'authenticité de l'écrit apocalyptique, et l'on en défend l'attribution à Métode, contre ceux qui n'hésitant pas "hanc nostram revelationem propheticam anile deliramentum aut fabulam appellare inanem". En plus, le texte est illustré avec de délicieuses vignettes de goût populaire, car dans la peinture "legunt qui litteras nesciunt": et Dieu sait quelles trouvailles amusantes la version amplifiée aurait offerte à la fantaisie du dessinateur....; mais celle-ci ne se trouve même pas dans les éditions des anciennes "Bibliothecae Patrum", qui donnent en grec et en latin, ou seulement en traduction latine la Vision de Métode. Voir:

HEROLDI Orthodoxographa Theologiae Sacrosanctae Basileae 1555, p.388

Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum III Coloniae, 1618-1622

Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum III Lugduni, 1677

Quelle est donc l'aire de provenance de ce passage, attesté dans ses développements folkloriques et dans ses réflexes culturels (qui ne sont pas seulement littéraires, mais aussi picturaux, comme nous le verrons) dans une aire qui s'étend de l'Angleterre à la Suède, de la Pologne à la Péninsule Balkanique, s'étendant au nord et à l'est jusqu'à toucher la Norvège et la Russie, la Pologne et les Pays Ougro-Finnois ?

En ce qui concerne l'aire dont nous nous occupons, la roumaine, jusqu'aujourd'hui exclue du cadre des recherches relatives au thème, il nous semble extraordinairement intéressant de signaler l'existence en aire roumaine des Révélations de Méthodie de Patara, dans la tradition manuscrite. Pour l'ancienneté et la continuité de cette tradition, il suffira de dire, que Méthode de Patara est présent dans l'aire culturelle roumaine, avec ses principales oeuvres en traduction slave depuis le XV-ème siècle. En ce qui concerne les Révélations, le catalogue des manuscrits slaves de l'Académie, dont on a malheureusement publié jusqu'à nos jours, seulement le premier volume, aux soins du défunt prof. Panaitescu[15], dénonce une continuité de transmission qui, du XV-ème siècle se prolonge au XVI-ème et au XVII-ème, dans des manuscrits miscellanées dont le lieu de provenance a été identifié avec les monastères de l'Athos. Cette continuité ne s'arrête pas ici, car le dépouillement des catalogues des manuscrits grecs de l'Académie Roumaine[16], démontre la permanence d'un intérêt qui, de l'ambiance monastique s'étend à la laïque, sans solution de continuité jusqu'au XIX-ème siècle.

Eh bien! L'étude de tous ces anciens manuscrits, pourrait jeter une lumière définitive sur l'argument. Nous nous contentons d'en signaler la présence: en effet, indépendamment de l'intérêt spécifique, l'ancienneté de la pénétration de la culture byzantine en général, et en particulier de cette littérature apocalyptique étroitement liée à l'inspiration et aux finalités ascétiques de l'ambiance monastique, mais diffusée ensuite dans

l'ambiance profane qui y découvre des allusions et des coïncidences avec la situation historique (dans ce cas, la victoire finale sur les Turcs) trouve dans ces documents le témoignage le plus convaincant.

Mais à ce point, nous pouvons abandonner Métode ou le pseudo Métode, qui de toutes façons ne pourrait offrir aucune aide à l'explication d'un nouvel élément, qui s'est introduit dans la rédaction roumaine de la légende de Noé. Nous nous rapportons à l'introduction de la simandre, devenue ici instrument de conciliation, comme la potion, le filtre, avaient été instruments de désaccord et de ruine.

Le motif, largement représenté dans le folklore, a impressionné un visiteur étranger, Bandinus[17], qui, par son témoignage, nous a donné la possibilité d'établir qu'en 1646, date de son voyage dans les Provinces roumaines, le motif était encore "populaire". Motif de provenance monastique et lié aux monastères d'Athos, si l'on en croit une hypothèse de BEZA. Mais ici aussi, une enquête effectuée dans des recueils d'écrits apocryphes ou pseudoépigraphes, nous a permis d'établir des relations et des parentés.

La simandre est introduite dans la rédaction roumaine selon un conseil divin. Eh bien, le conseil: "Fac tibi crepitacula e ligno Buxi" résonne dans la Bouche Divine, et il est adressé à Noé dans le commentaire du Pentateuque arabique du pseudo ?Hippolite[18]; et l'invitation est répétée dans les Annales d'Eutychius[19] "cui indicavit etiam Dominus ut campanam e ligno platani Indicae conficeret". Mais, si dans ces textes, la cloche, le "crepitaculum" en somme la simandre, doit servir à cadencer le rythme du travail et du repos pour les constructeurs de l'Arche (la future Église) c'est dans le soit-disant "Liber qui appellatur Poenitentia Adae apocryphus" que nous voyons se présenter une autre de ses fondamentales fonctions. Ce sera elle en effet à appeler les animaux qui doivent se réunir dans l'Arche pour être sauvés: "Monte donc dans l'Arche et sonne trois fois la trompette afin que les bêtes et les oiseaux se rassemblent". C'est ainsi que Dieu parle à Noé.

Comment donc nous stupéfier si la tradition folklorique a adopté ce motif, du moment que l'intervention de la simandre donne une réponse à une des demandes les plus inquiétantes soulevées par l'événement ? -"Comment puis-je appeler tous les êtres vivants?" demande dans la version slave Noé, qui sait bien que l'homme, après le péché d'Adam, a perdu la domination sur les animaux auxquels dans l'Eden, il avait, selon l'expression biblique, "donné le nom"?.

Dans l'aire roumaine, le motif n'est pas seulement passivement adopté, mais il est transfiguré selon une vigoureuse puissance fantastique ou métaphysique, qui confiera à la simandre, c'est-à-dire à la musique, une mission rédemptrice: Celle-ci n'attirera pas seulement les êtres vivants, mais les choses. Les morceaux de bois inertes et brisés, comme les pierres au chant d'Orphée, seront obligés de se redresser et de reprendre la fonction pour laquelle Dieu les a créés et destinés, et à recomposer, sur le rythme cadencé de ses coups, la masse non seulement brisée mais "broyée".

Le motif apocryphe de la simandre envoyée par Dieu, autant que celle de la potion usée par le diable, ont eu un reflet dans des documents picturaux de grand intérêt. Comme pour les délicates miniatures qui ornent le précieux psautier de la Reine Mary, conservé au British Museum, illustrant l'épisode de la tentation et du filtre, de même pour la peinture, lisible pour peu de temps encore peut-être, dans une petite église de cet âpre et écarté Maramureş[20] qui garde tant d'aspects archaïques de l'authentique spiritualité roumaine, le point de départ est le récit. Lié comme on l'a déjà dit, dans l'aire occidentale, à la vive tradition des mystères, et dans l'aire balkanique à la transmission populaire, à laquelle la tradition monastique n'est pas étrangère, le thème stimule la fantaisie du peintre anonyme qui, suggestionné par l'apocryphe, n'hésite pas à l'introduire pour son haut enseignement éthique et religieux, dans un livre de prières, où, comme il advient dans la peinture de Villberga et de Edshult en Suède, et de Bârsana en Maramureş, il l'inclut dans des cycles narratifs "orthodoxes" qui illustrent les divers épisodes de la Genèse tout au long des parois de l'Église.

Ainsi, le destin créatif d'un thème s'accomplit. L'apocryphe adopté par la tradition populaire est assimilé et pour ainsi dire submergé dans le folklore, en attendant d'être repris et transformé en formes expressives plus hautes, par l'oeuvre de l'artiste qui s'y inspire. Le miracle s'est répété de nos jours dans l'aire roumaine: un grand artiste, Lucian Blaga, par son ultime travail théâtral, l'Arche de Noé, a fait, avec les éléments encore en circulation dans la tradition populaire, une oeuvre sans pareille de poésie authentique.

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ISRAEL

ETUDE COMPARATIVE DU TYPE 313 DE LA LITTERATURE FOLKLORIQUE UNIVERSELLE ET JUDAÏQUE

I

INTRODUCTION

Dans le golfe Persique comme dans le bassin de la Méditerranée, dans les Carpathes ainsi que dans la péninsule Ibérique, sur les bords de la mer Baltique de même que dans les steppes de l'Ukraine, dans cette dispersion géographique inouïe des tribus d'Israel, ses créations populaires forgées à des milliers de (kilomètres) de distance l'une de l'autre, conservent néanmoins, une communauté d'idées spécifiques à la structure éthique et morale, de la conception judaïque.

Au cours de ses migrations en long et en large du monde, les descendants d'Abraham, d'Isaac et Jacob, ont inévitablement échangé leurs conceptions avec les peuples avec lesquels ils ont cohabité durant des siècles et même des millénaires.

En analysant comparativement les motifs de nos contes et de nos légendes, nous serons à même de constater un amalgame d'éléments universels et d'éléments juifs, des motifs orienteux antiques et des motifs européens.

Pour le chercheur de folklore, les quelque 9000 narrations, récueillies chez toutes les communautés juives et qui sont conservés à l'IFA, constituent un vaste matériel d'études comparatives des motifs spécifiques judaïques, avec les motifs universels.

L'ouvrage présent, se propose d'étudier un certain type de narrations et de faire ressortir les caractéristiques des motifs judaïques absolument originaux qui sont conservés à l'IFA.

A cette fin, j'ai choisi le type 313 tel qu'il est spécifié dans le catalogue Aarne Thompson: The girl as a helper in the hero's

Fleight connu aussi sous le nom du motif "The magic Fleight".

II

Brève caractérisation du type 313

Dans la systhématisation de la prose populaire selon la typologie d'Aarne-Thompson, le type 313 peut être envisagé comme l'un des plus complexes. Dans le cadre d'une action de vaste déploiement en temps et lieu, sont assemblées les plus diverses formes d'expression artistique. La fuite magique avec ses détails qui tiennent du fantastique, est tressée sur le fond d'une histoire d'amour. L'opposition des amants aux forces du mal, de même que leur lutte afin d'échapper à la force dominatrice du diable, prêtent à la narration, une atmosphère de roman d'aventure.

Les multiples aventures de l'action, présentées dans un rhythme gradué dramatiquement, créent au narrateur l'ambiance propice à en enrichir le contenu avec une infinité de motifs nouveaux, oikotypes locaux qui varient d'un peuple à l'autre.

Le type de narration 313 est devenu le sujet d'un ouvrage scientifique de grande importance tels que ceux de Anti Aarne "La fuite magique", "Die magische Flucht" de 1930 et la dissertation de Greis Knap "The motifs of the Jason and Medeea Myth in Modern Tradition". Assurément que tous ceux qui s'occupent du mythe grec, rencontrent dans leur étude sur Jason et Medée les éléments de base sur le type A.T. 313.

La fuite, protégée par des moyens magiques, est un épisode bien connu dans la littérature folklorique de tous les peuples, de tous les temps.

Il est à supposer que dans la pensée judaïque, la fuite de sous l'emprise de Satan, est associée à l'idée du départ des Juifs de l'Egypte.

Moïse et les fils d'Israël, échappent à l'esclavage égyptien, de même que les deux amants du type A.T. 313, échappant au pouvoir de Satan.

La route vers la Terre Promise est longue (40 ans) et pleine d'embûches et si les Juifs n'avaient pas été protégés dans leur fuite par des obstacles magiques tels que: le pilier de feu, le nuage, l'eau,

../..

ils n'auraient jamais pu atteindre leur but.

Les faits sont les mêmes, dans les narrations populaires où les obstacles magiques tels que: les montagnes, les rivières, les forêts, s'interposent entre les poursuivis et les poursuivants.

La fuite magique du type 313, se distingue des autres évasions, par le fait qu'elle est effectuée à deux, ayant pour but non seulement la délivrance de sous l'empire du mal, mais aussi la lutte pour acquérir le bonheur.

Dans ce combat, le héros est aidé par l'ingéniosité de sa bien-aimée, détentrice de certaines formules magiques qui assurent la réussite de l'évasion. De ce point de vue, Medée peut être considérée comme l'aïeule de la belle Eulalie, de Ileana Cosînzeana, et d'une grande galerie d'héroïnes faisant partie du trésor de la littérature folklorique universelle. Comparativement à la pensée judaïque, la fuite magique de A.T.313, nous paraît limitée. Dans la légende de l'Exode, quoique les héros ne prennent pas une part active dans la lutte contre les forces du mal, l'idée de la délivrance se déroule sur un plan plus étendu, dans ce sens, que grâce aux miracles divins, tout un peuple est délivré de l'esclavage.

Le Type 313 dans la littérature orale israélite

Les chercheurs de folklore de notre pays, ont classifié dans le cadre du type 313, un nombre de 10 narrations. Dans leur grande majorité, les contes ont été recueillis chez des narrateurs qui proviennent des pays de l'Orient: la Tunisie, le Liban, le Yemen, l'Irak, le Kurdistan Irakien et l'Iran. Examinés dans leur ensemble, ces contes sont fortement influencés par la littérature folklorique des pays d'origine des narrateurs.

Les détails de couleur locale, sont à ce point précis, que nous apprenons que les faits se sont passés à Istambul, que la monnaie courante était le dinar, que celui qui devait officier des fiançailles était un Kadi. Même si quelques indices au sujet du cadre

naturel et de l'ambiance: désert sans fin, l'ombrage des oliviers, le café, la narghilé, les chameaux, sont propres à notre pays aussi, même si certains motifs: oiseaux monstres, le serpent au lieu de la jeune fille-cygne, sont des motifs juifs également, ces narrations ne sortent pas de l'ordinaire par leur originalité. Aucun des détailes dans le contenu des idées, ne rend le côté spécifique de la pensée judaïque, ce qui nous fait supposer que ces narrations ont pénétré dans le folklore juif, par les voies de circulation universelle de la littérature orale, d'un peuple à l'autre.

Le conte "Les faits d'un ~~Hiérosolymitain~~ Jérusalmitain" fait exception, vu que, à part le fait qu'il représente un exemple unique dans les archives du folklore Israélite, il fait preuve également d'une parfaite originalité dans le cadre du type 313, originalité qui mérite à être mentionnée en tant qu'indépendante, dans le catalogue international.

Analyse de la narration "Les faits d'un ~~Hiérosolymitain~~ Jérusalmitain"

Cette narration est indubitablement l'expression la plus complète de l'aspect éthique et moral, de la pensée, de la sagesse et du goût pour le beau de notre peuple. Le contenu philosophique judaïque, autant que le message fin et subtil des idées, prêtent au contenu une originalité spéciale.

C'est pour cette cause peut-être, que le fait que ce conte fantastique soit apparu dans la communauté juive de Babylone pendant la période GAONIQUE, d'il y a environ mille ans, période de l'etude sur le THORA n'est pas dû au hasard. A la suite de son apparition, la narration fut traduite en latin et en d'autres langues également.

Dans le conte "Les ~~aventures~~ faits d'un ~~Hiérosolymitain~~ Jérusalmitain" on narre les aventures d'un jeune-homme qui se rend coupable d'avoir enfreint les quatre commandements du décalogne. La trahison du serment fait à son père, lui attire la colère des cieux et en guise de châtiment, il est jeté dans un autre monde, le pays -des démons. Ici, il essaye de sauver

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sa vie en se mariant à la fille du Satan-Ashmaday-à laquelle il jure l'amour et la fidélité. La naissance d'un fils, réveille en lui la nostalgie ~~des Hiérosolymitains~~ - de sa famille demeurée dans le pays des mortels.

De commun accord avec son épouse, il décide d'aller les revoir, non sans d'abord avoir signé son contrat de retour. Mais cette fois non plus, notre héros, ne tient pas la parole donnée, ce qui finalement lui attire le châtiment bien merité. La fille d'Ashmaday le tue, après avoir veinement essayé de le ramener à elle.

A cause de son sujet, le conte "Les faits d'un ~~Hiérosolymitain~~ Jerusalmitain" fut inclus selon le tableau Aarne-Thomson dans le type 470* (The hero visits the land of the immortals). C'est dans cette catégorie que sont placés tous les contes dans lesquels on raconte les aventures du héros dans le Pays des Immortels, son mariage avec la reine, la permission d'aller voir sa famille en respectant un certain tabou et finalement sa mort. Une recherche plus approfondie sur ce type de conte, nous met en présence d'un cas spécial dans lequel les éléments du type 313 vivent dans une symbiose parfaite avec les quelques éléments du type 470*. Il est vrai que le fond thématique général appartient au type 470* mais la structure intérieure de la narration est constituée sur l'echafaudage de motifs appartenant au type 313.

En examinant la topique du déroulement de l'action dans la lumière des éléments établis pour le type 313 dans le catalogue A.T., nous sommes à même de diviser le oikotype juif en 6 épisodes bien déterminés.

1. Le Héros quitte la maison et est prédestiné à la perte par la trahison du serment fait à son père. puis il tombe sous l'emprise du diable (Ashmaday).

2. Son séjour chez le diable où de nouveau il enfreint un tabou

fait à la suite duquel il est forcé de se marier à la fille du diable, qui lui apprend comment il peut échapper au châtiment qui lui est dû.

Ici, conformément au schéma 313, le héros aurait dû subir de dures épreuves, afin d'obtenir la main de la fille de Satan. Dans la version judaïque, la topique des faits est inversée : les épreuves et les dangers ont lieu avant de connaître la fille de Satan, c'est-à-dire dès l'instant de son apparition dans le Pays des démons, jusqu'à son jugement tandis que la liaison entre les deux jeunes gens n'a lieu que, durant ses efforts pour avoir la vie sauve.

Tandis que dans le A.T. 313 l'ordre : épreuve/ danger/épreuve/ a une fonction dramatique, la narration israélite en a une qualitative: mettre à nu le caractère odieux du héros : menteur et sans scrupules. L'idée de la défense du principe moral de la justice et de la correction ressort avec d'autant plus de force, que notre héros est présenté comme sage et très savant en ce qui concerne la THORA.

3. La fuite magique - symbole de la reconnaissance du type 313, revêt dans l'oikotype israélite un aspect spécial.

Le héros, est délivré de sous l'emprise des démons en partant seul, avec l'assentiment de la fille d'Ashmaday. Quoique la fuite s'accomplisse sur les épaules d'un diable bossu, elle est dépourvue des éléments magiques connus dans le type de narration A.T. 313.

Dans l'oikotype israélite, les transformations magiques disparaissent complètement, puisque le départ est accordé de bon grâce, les raisons de l'empêcher n'existant pas.

4. De même que dans le type A.T.313, le héros se rend coupable d'avoir enfreint une défense et à cause de circonstances magiques, il oublie sa famille, où son épouse. Dans l'oikotype israélite, les éléments magiques disparaissent, puisqu'ils sont absolument inutiles. Notre héros n'oublie guère son épouse, la fille d'Ashmaday mais la répudie consciement, quoi que celle-ci lui ait sauvé la vie.

5. La bien-aimée ou bien l'épouse délaissée, part à la recherche

du héros et après l'avoir retrouvé, lui rappelle ce qui c'était passé, avec le but évident de dissipper l'effet du sortilège.

Cet épisode nous le rencontrons également dans l'oikotype israélite. Dans notre conte, l'épisode est fortement imprégné de principes de l'éthique et de la morale judaïque, qui sont fondés sur la sainteté et l'indestructibilité de la famille à l'égard des hommes et de la divinité. Et même plus, dans le cas présent il existe une différence flagrante en comparaison, avec les variantes qu'on rencontre chez d'autres peuples. Le héros n'abandonne pas son fils et son épouse sous l'empire du sortilège, mais pour des raisons personnelles. L'épouse, elle, dans ses efforts pour retrouver son époux, ne fait pas usage de formules magiques compliquées, mais s'appuie sur ses sentiments et surtout, sur les droits contractuels du mariage sanctifié par le serment.

6. Le héros du type A.T. 313, est prêt à se marier à une autre femme, lorsque apparaît sa première fiancée qui lui rappelle ses promesses et ses devoirs envers elle. Mis devant ses faits, le héros préfère la première femme et revient à elle. Dans l'oikotype juif, la situation est complètement différente, fait qui détermine aussi la fin de l'histoire. Le héros de la narration judaïque, chasse la seconde femme - la fille d'Ashmaday - et revient à la première femme, non à cause d'un sentiment de reconnaissance envers celle-ci (AT. 313) mais parce que il ne veut pas s'associer à des créatures non humaines. (470X). Au nom de sa délivrance du monde des créatures surnaturelles (470X) le héros est prêt à mettre sa vie en péril. Par conséquent, il ne s'agit pas de son choix entre deux femmes, mais de celui entre deux mondes différents et même opposés comme idéal et finalité. Ces idées manquent totalement dans le type de narration A.T. 313, où il ne s'agit que du choix entre deux femmes et rien de plus.

En passant de l'étude des éléments de forme à celles des éléments de contenu, l'analyse de notre oikotype, nous offre des détails

nouveaux, tout à fait inconnus dans les narrations acceptées comme faisant partie du type A.T. 313. Tandis que dans toutes les narrations des autres peuples, nous n'avons pas d'indications précises sur le spécifique national et religieux, dans le conte israélite il ressort d'une manière détaillée l'atmosphère judaïque. Sur le fond d'une société juive traditionelle, on expose le débat entre le pêché et la sanction, dans la lumière des quatre commendements du décalogue:

1."Honore ton père et ta mère" afin que tes jours se prolongent dans le pays que l'Eternel, ton Dieu, te donne" (V-ème)

2."Tu ne porteras point de faux témoignage contre ton prochain" (IX-ème)

3."Tu ne commettras point d'adultère (VII-ème)

4."Tu ne convoiteras point la maison de ton prochain"(X-ème)

Il est généralement connu que pour tout Juif, les tables de Moïse, constituent la base de la conduite morale. Ceux qui enfreignent les 10 commendements, sont des hors-la-loi, stygmatisés et évités par la société. Le héros de cette histoire quoique très savant en ce qui a trait au THORA est un pêcheur, par le fait d'avoir à plusieurs reprises trahi ses serments et par celui d'avoir rétracté les promesses solennelles faits à son prochain.

C'est un personnage babile qui agit uniquement pour soi. Au cours de la narration, le héros devient plus antipathique aux auditeurs et c'est pour cette raison, que sa fin tragique apparaît absolument justifiée. Cela fait ressortir la différence fondamentale entre notre oikotype et le type A.T.313, où "tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes". Dans notre conte, deux mondes s'opposent et se combattent. L'un, celui des sages, représenté par notre héros qui n'est guère un homme honnête et l'autre, celui des démons, représenté par la fille malheureuse mais honnête d'Ashmaday. Il va de soi que les auditeurs arrivent à la conclusion que"le diable" n'est pas aussi noir qu'on le croit", puisque on les décrit comme des personnages qui prient dans la synagogue, qui raisonnent selon des lois humanitaires et qui accordent un large crédit à leur prochain

De ce point de vue, l'image de la fille d'Ashmaday apparaît comme une personnalité très intéressante par son originalité.

Dans le type A.T. 313, la jeune héroïne, connaît certains sortilèges et formules magiques à l'aide desquels elle sauve sa vie et celle de son amant.

Dans l'oikotype israélite, la fille d'Ashmaday ne détient pas une semblable attribution. Elle se conduit en être humain luttant pour défendre ses droits légitimes d'épouse et de mère honnête. Elle excelle par sa sincérité et son sens profond de la justice, à tel point, que la scène finale, quand elle tue son mari, , apparaît comme pleinement justifiée et d'un pathétisme déchirant.

A la base idéologique de notre oikotype, se trouve une optique qui nous présente d'une façon complètement différente les valeurs universelles: une démone vertueuse, un sage immoral.

Cette idée tire sa substance du percepte judaïque du proverbe: "Ne t'étonne pas du pot, mais de ce qu'il y a dedans."

Dans les ressemblances et les différences démontrées jusqu'ici, notre conte doit être considéré comme dépassant le type A.T. 313 et consigné comme oikotype israélite, porteur des traditions judaïques les moins conformistes.

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L'importance des éléments comiques dans les narrations populaires hongroises

Notre temps représente sans aucun doute, une époque du déclin du conte populaire. Même si le récit - comme nécessité sociale - ne s'est pas éteint totalement, il subit certaines transformations et changements. Ainsi se dessinent des nouvelles tendances internes dans l'évolution du conte populaire qui protègent sa survivance dans les conditions sociales et spirituelles transformées, en générant respectivement des changements qui, en dernière analyse peuvent conduire à estomper les caractères traditionnels du genre.

I. 1. Nous pouvons généralement observer dans le patrimoine des contes de nos jours, l'accroissement de la proportion des genres humoristiques. Même dans les collectivités où la fonction ancienne du récit se conserve encore, les narrateurs qui gardent dans leurs contes la prépondérence des genres humoristiques, jouissent d'une plus grande popularité. Par exemple, parmi les travailleurs forestiers de la Vallée du Gurghiu /district du Mureş/ - où le récit garde encore une tradition importante et vivace - les recherches que nous avons effectuées attestant le fait que les narrateurs des facéties sont en général plus connus que ceux des contes miraculeux. En faisant des enquêtes sur les reconteurs, nous étions très souvent dirigés vers des personnes que l'on considérait comme des hommes blagueurs, des bonnes gueules qui savent des mensonges à faire rire[1] Même parmi les narrateurs adaptes des contes miraculeux on tenait compte plutôt de ceux qui - par des tours humoristiques - augmentaient leurs exposés d'après le goût et l'exigence actuelle des auditeurs[2].

Fülep Kati, la narratrice la plus connue et la plus populaire

du village de Sic sur la Plaine de la Transylvanie. Le répertoire de cette narratrice comprend 450 pièces dont 9 contes miraculeux seulement, le reste étant des anécdotes, des blagues et des facéties. Ils connaissent tous la fameuse narratrice des soirées de filage, tandis que Bikkfalvi Méetonné - qui a le même âge que Kali - n'est pas connue comme narratrice, et quoiqu'elle détienne un riche répertoire de contes miraculeux, elle n'a que les enfants pour auditoire.

Dans certaines régions - comme par exemple le Banat - le contenu de la notion de narrateur s'est rétréci, se rapportant aujourd'hui seulement à des personnes qui amusent leur auditoire par des anécdotes ou par des aventures humoristiques. Ceci en dépit du fait que l'on racontait entre les deux siècles encore des contes miraculeux dans les huttes des "jeleri" des grands domaines ou bien dans les immenses remises pour sécher le tabac. C'est ainsi que notre informateur Iosif Szakáli de Ciacova (né en 1900), qui avait été un auditeur et plus tard un narrateur apprécié par les collectivités qui écoutaient soir sur soir des contes fantastiques, n'a plus été en état d'évoquer les contes racontés jadis. Son répertoire de son vieux âge est composé exclusivement par des historiettes humoristiques, des légendes drôles et des facéties.

Quant au célèbre narrateur de Ortutay Gyula - Fédics Mihály du comitat Szabolcs (Hongrie) - nous savons qu'il se gênait de raconter à ses compagnons du village des narrations fantastiques, car on se moquait de lui. Ortutay observe comme cette espèce perd son terrain en faveur des historiettes ou des anecdotes[4].

II. 1 Chez des nombreux narrateurs on peut observer, en même temps que le déclin du conte fantastique et à mesure que les espèces humoristiques gagnent du terrain, un décalage entre le caractère du répertoire et la tonalité de l'exposé. Par exemple Iosif Szakáli a gardé de manière conséquente - même pour narrer des histoires drôles, des anecdotes à pointe ou des historiettes picantes

- une manière calme de parler, digne, parfois même festive, caractéristique pour le genre épique vaste, en rendant jusqu'aux dialogues étincelants et remplis d'esprit en un rythme lent, par une intonation à peine modulée, de la même façon dont il parlait jadis lorsqu'il narrait les contes miraculeux. L'inverse de ce phénomène est aujourd'hui beaucoup plus fréquent; on rencontre toujours plus fréquemment des narrateurs qui même dans les collectivités de narrateurs relativement plus conservatrices, racontent sur un ton badin jusqu'aux contes fantastiques. Nous rencontrons toujours plus fréquemment des narrateurs ayant un répertoire de contes classiques qui tandis qu'ils racontent font appel à l'arsenal stylistique du comique et de l'humour au delà de la mesure habituelle, de telle sorte que cette manière de présenter affecte déjà le spécifique du contenu et de forme du genre. C'est justement à cause de fait que ce phénomène gagne toujours plus de terrain et affecte plus que la surface du répertoire des narrations que nous sommes inclins à voir dans ce phénomène le dessin d'une tendance nouvelle dans le processus d'évolution[5].

2. L'humour et le comique sont présents dans toutes les espèces du conte populaire et par conséquent aussi dans le conte fantastique. Mais dans les variantes traditionnelles de ce dernier, la présence du miraculeux et du fantastique, l'harmonie et la proportionnalité des éléments fantastiques et comiques ont déterminé le spécifique du genre de ces créations. Nous pouvons justement observer dans certaines variantes actuelles la décomposition de cette proportionnalité comme suite à l'augmentation fonctionnelle des éléments et des motifs comiques. Il en résulte une disparition toujours plus accentuée des limites entre les différents espèces et la naissance de groupes des espèces variés, à caractère amalgamé. Le même type de conte produit des variantes qui ne peuvent plus se ranger dans le système traditionnel existent des groupes des espèces. Par exemple, nous disposons des variantes du type du conte

fantastique, qui, du point de vue de réalisation de la création, de la structure et de la forme, peuvent être classés parmi les facéties.

Il y a de différentes manières et degrés de réalisation de ce phénomène, c'est-à-dire de l'augmentation fonctionnelle des éléments comiques dans la narration vivante:

a) Dans le cadre du conte traditionnel le narrateur amplifie les éléments et les motifs comiques en leur donnant un rôle et une importance centrale. Dans ce cas sa mission fonctionnelle des éléments miraculeux peut réduire ou perdre de son coloris, en s'estompant, en descendant sur un plan secondaire. La proportion traditionnelle se décompose par ce fait, les éléments comiques gagnent une prépondérance dans la création et la variante humoristique du conte est ainsi née. Dans les conditions respectives le phénomène se familiarise d'autant plus que les possibilités offertes par le conte traditionnels nous offre dans le sens de la présentation comique sont plus nombreuses. Pour donner un exemple nous mentionnons une variantes du type ATh 671 recueillie en 1967 de Jakab Istvan de 41 ans, de la Vallée du Gurghiu. La structure originale de ce type de conte du catalogue est la suivante:

A. Un jouvenceau entre dans la possesion d'un animal miraculeux: quiconque le touche y reste collé.

B. L'empereur promet une récompense à celui qui pourra faire rire sa fille, toujours triste. A l'aide d'une flûte enchantée ou bien d'un autre instrument, notre héros fait danser une suite entière d'hommes enlacés par le pouvoir miraculeux; la fille de l'empereur rit de bon coeur et le jouvenceau reçoit comme récompense la main de la princesse.

Dans les variantes traditionnelles de ce conte les éléments fantastiques sont d'habitude les éléments principaux du premier épisode. Le héros obtient pour la plupart du temps l'instrument miraculeux d'un mendiant mistérieux, ou de certaines forces surna-

turelles et cet instrument l'aide pour entrer en possession de l'animal miraculeux. Les possibilités du comique sont dérisoires dans cet épisode. Mais dans le second, les motifs comiques passent au premier plan, les miraculeux restant au plan secondaire. L'attention est captée par les éléments comiques provoqués par les gens qui restent collés l'un à l'autre. De la sorte le rapport entre les éléments miraculeux et les comiques peut être considéré dans la totalité du conte comme étant 1 : 1.

Dans la variante de Jakab István ce rapport se décompose. Notre conteur exploite bien plus au dessus du niveau habituel, les possibilités du comique du second episode; il amplifie et varie tant les motifs comiques traditionnels, que le rapport change de manière substantielle. Le schéma de cette variante est le suivant:

a) Un orphelin est élevé à une bergerie. On lui promet l'agneau d'une brebis comme récompense pour sa diligence pendant six années passées là. L'agneau est né ayant des propriétés miraculeuses.

B) Toute une rangée d'hommes rapaces - parmi lesquels l'empereur et sa femme, sa fille et ses dignitaires - reste accrochée à l'agneau à la toison d'or. Notre héros reçoit comme rançon la main de la fille de l'empereur.

C) Le héros a un ménage malheureux. Il arrange donc de telle sorte que la femme infidèle et son amant restent collés l'un à l'autre en les exposant au public de la sorte, il leur rend la liberté seulement au prix de l'empire. Ensuite il se remarie et vit heureux.

Dans cette variante les éléments comiques surgissent toujours au deuxième épisode seulement. Ici l'élément miraculeux n'est plus qu'un moyen artistique subordonné à l'élaboration des éléments comiques, ingénieusement variés par le narrateur. L'agneau à la toison d'or, auquel tous ceux qui le frôlent restent accrochés, remplit exclusivement la fonction d'élément destiné a relier une série de situations drôles. Tandis que dans la variante traditionnelle

l'élément miraculeux et en fait un moyen par lequel notre héros gagne son bonheur - cette fonction disparait totalement ici. Le narrateur se conduit d'après les préférences humoristiques de l'auditeur; dans ce but même l'objectif antérieur (l'obtention de la main de la fille de l'empereur) est subordonné à l'intention mentionnée, en devenant un moyen pour déclancher le rire. Le message de cette nouvelle variante est celui de stigmatiser la rapacité humaine. L'argumentation de la proportion des éléments comiques dans le conte est accentuée davantage du fait que l'on ajoute un troisième épisode - la femme infidèle devenue la risée du monde - qui conclût la variante conformément à la conception nouvelle du conteur. Le nouvel message, le contenu nouveau ont des répercussions sur la proportionnalité structurelle du conte. L'équilibre traditionnel entre les éléments miraculeux et les comiques est renversé: au lieu de la proportion traditionnelle de 1 : 1 nous avons ici une proportion de 1 : 4 en faveur des éléments comiques. Des variantes semblables à celle que nous avons décrite, surviennent toujours plus fréquemment dans le patrimoine actuel des contes vivents[6].

Le narrateur a utilisé pour le cas présent l'amplification fonctionnelle des éléments comiques dans le cadre traditionnel du conte, mais sans avoir modifié le spécifique du genre littéraire du conte.

b) L'autre forme plus avancée de valider le phénomène décrit est celle dans laquelle le narrateur garde seulement le motif de base du conte miraculeux, en présentant son exposé à un degré caractéristique en tout à l'anecdote, tant sous l'aspect de la forme, que sous celui de la structure. Dans ce dernier cas, les éléments miraculeux sont d'habitude négligés, la création est construite presque exclusivement sur des éléments drôles et le conte reflète quant à la forme, les caractères spécifiques de la facétie. Suivons par exemple, la variante-facétie du type que nous venons justement

de mentionner; il a été recueilli en 1966 d'un narrateur de Breaza:

A) L'empereur promet une récompense à celui qui fera rire sa fille. Un caporal rusé range ses soldats sous les fenêtres de la fille d'empereur, il la fait rire par un mouvement obscène. Le caporal obtient la main de la fille, comme récompense.

L'élément miraculeux fait totalement défaut dans cette facétie. Le narrateur a gardé seulement le motif de base, correspondant à la structure de la facétie, sur un seul épisode, celle-ci s'adapte aux nouvelles conditions de genre, dans sa structuralisation, en se terminant par une pointe brève et ingénieuse. La narration ressemble sous cette forme, plutôt à une plaisanterie militaire réussie, qu'au conte miraculeux mentionné. Donc, la variante-facétie du type est née de la sorte.

IV. Quels sont les contingences de forme et de genre de ce phénomène? De quelle manière peut-on affecter les limites du genre par l'augmentation du nombre des éléments comiques, dans les différents sous-groupes du conte populaire? Nous considérons qu'une des plus importantes conséquences du phénomène étudié c'est l'amalgame des genres. Nous venons de mentionner déjà plus haut que la décomposition des proportions classiques entre les éléments miraculeux et les comiques du conte fantastique peut conduire à l'effacement des caractères spécifiques du genre. Par conséquent le nombre d'ainsi-dites contes-facéties (Märchen-Schwank) s'est accru de beaucoup dans le répertoire vivant. Dans le système typologique d'Aarne-Thompson les facéties commencent depuis le numéro 1200 – mais aussi les types antérieurs à ce chiffre comprennent des variantes nouvellement nées qui de fait devraient être classifiées toujours aux facéties.

Dans le patrimoine des contes roumains l'amalgames des espèces a été observé et expliqué par Ovidiu Bîrlea de la manière suivante: "Le surnaturel apparaît bien rarement et trouble la couleur verosimile spécifique à la facétie en donnant naissance à des espèces

mixtes: conte-facétie"[7]. On peut observer le phénomène inverse dans le patrimoine actuel des contes hongrois: les éléments comiques pénètrent dans le conte miraculeux en créant le conte-facétie. Il est probable que dans le patrimoine international des contes, l'augmentation numérique des genres comiques peut être expliqué aussi de la sorte. En ce qui concerne le mélange des genres, Siegfried Neumann parle récemment de l'ainsi nommée Märchen-Schwank et des Legenden-Schwank générés, à son avis, par la solution humoristique introduite dans les genres traditionnels de la prose populaire. Neumann considère que le phénomène apparaît aujourd'hui à cause de la non-acceptation du miraculeux par les hommes[8]. L'explication doit être incontestablement cherchée dans tous les cas dans l'attitude du narrateur (qui s'écarte ironiquement de ce qu'il raconte) et celle de l'auditoire vis-à-vis du conte, dans leur conception réelle sur l'univers du conte et dans une conscience transformée[9].

IV. Le coloris comique imprégné aux motifs traditionnels du conte, sauve l'existence des narrations et lui confère même de nos jours, la qualité de fonction vivante. C'est justement pourquoi il est étroitement relié à un autre phénomène, manifesté d'une manière toujours plus accentuée, l'imprégnation du caractère véridique. La pénétration accentuée des éléments de la réalité dans le monde des contes conduit bien souvent à la présentation comique. "Le réalisme est présenté parfois par des traits tellement accusés, qu'il reçoit des couleurs fortement comiques", observe Ovidiu Bîrlea[10]. La cause de ces deux phénomènes réside dans la disparition définitive du fondement mythique des contes - et le résultat c'est l'adaptation du genre littéraire aux conditions sociales et spirituelles modifiées.

N O T E S

1) Les matériaux de l'enquête entreprise par VÖÖ Gabriela et Ion Cuceu chez les travailleurs forestiers à Lăpugna - se trouvent dans l'archive de la Section d'ethnographie et de folklore à Cluj (= ASEFC).

2) Par ex. Jakab István, narrateur âgé de 41 ans du village de Glăjărie était renomé parmi ses concitoyens, en bonne partie à cause du ton humoristique de ses exposés. Tandis que Szász Janós (42 ans) qui en rendant son riche répertoire avait l'habitude d'user des moyens stylistiques dramatiques et lyriques, n'était pas très bien connu de son village.

3) Données obtenues par la bienveillance du chercheur Nagy Olga.

4) Ortutay Gyula, Fédics Mihály meséi, Bp. 1940, p.28

5) Nous considérons que ce procès ne signifie pas une dégradation continuelles partant de la forme initiale du mythe parcourant le comique comme une forme de négation, avant de disparaître. Le processus est beaucoup plus complexe, le comique étant lui aussi une constante de l'existence humaine.

6) Ioan Porav, Vasile Cliga, les narrateurs roumains les plus connus de la vallée du Gurghiu, ou l'excellent narrateur tzigane Puci Jóska de Brîncovenești /District Mureș/ utilisent aussi dans leur création la manière comique de présentation. Voir les contes recueillis de ceux-ci par Nagy Olga et Ion Cuceu (dans L'ASEFC).

7. Antologia de proză populară epică /Anthologie de prose populaire épique/ Bucuresti, Ed. p.Literatură 1966, vol.I, p.45.

8. Volksprosea mit komischen inhalt. Dans "Fabula"9(1967) No.1-3, p.146.

9. Nous citons le fait que nous trouvons à peine dans le folklore hongrois de la Transylvanie des légendes religieuses, seulement des légendes-facéties. L'influence du protestantisme a beaucoup contribué à la disperition des légendes.

10. Ibidem, p.....

L'importance des éléments comiques dans les narrations populaires hongroises

VUB Gabriela - Romania

Cette communication traite un aspect du changement observé sur le matériel contemporain des contes authentiques: l'augmentation du poids des éléments comiques dans les contes fantastiques.

La première partie traite l'augmentation de la proportion et de la popularité des espèces humoristiques dans le répertoire actuel. On présente dans la seconde partie deux aspects de la réalisation du phénomène en question:

a) le narrateur amplifie les éléments et les motifs comiques, en leur accordant une importance centrale; en décomposant de cette manière la proportion traditionnelle entre les éléments fantastiques et les comiques tout en gardant l'espèce conte.

b) Le narrateur ne garde que le motif de base en faisant passer le conte miraculeux dans la catégorie des facéties tant par le contenu que par la structure.

Ces deux aspects sont illustrés par des exemples.

La troisième partie de la communication s'occupe des conséquences que ce phénomène a eu sur la forme et l'espèce, faisant ressortir le fait que l'une des plus importantes conséquences, c'est l'amalgame des espèces, l'accroissance du nombre de l'espèce mixte: conte-anécdote.

On cherche enfin les causes du phénomène dans l'attitude du narrateur envers le conte, dans la conception plus réaliste quant à l'univers du conte et dans une conscience transformée.

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ISSN 0034–8198